HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXIX, No. 42 Copyright 1969 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc. October 18, 1969 35¢

How Nixon Can Split Anti-War Movement

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

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Trying to dampen the effect of the student "Vietnam Moratorium" demand that we bug out of the war in Southeast Asia, which will be heard in a demonstration scheduled for the campuses on October 15, President Richard Nixon has urged the American people not to "buckle under" or "run away" from a national commitment to a just peace.

If our Dr. Spocks and Reverend Coffins were not so far gone in emotionalism, they, too, would be concerned about letting a whole strategic section of the world go to the Communists by default. But the revulsion against an endless succession of casualty lists has gone deep with American parents—and the Spocks and Coffins aren't the only ones who fail to reckon with the leftist dynamism that would be released all over the world with a Viet Cong victory in South Viet Nam.

As the inheritor of a war that for psychological reasons cannot now be won by orthodox destruction of the North Vietnamese enemy, the best that Mr. Nixon can hope for is to save South Viet Nam from an internal Communist takeover. To do this, however, he must find a way of recreating a trust among Americans that he can succeed in "Vietnamizing" the war as a prelude to letting the Vietnamese settle their own differences.

With the college young on a rampage, how is President Nixon to do this? Oddly, it is the foreign minister of Thailand, the shrewd and sensible Thanat Khoman, who has given Nixon his cue. Speaking to interviewers the other day at the United Nations, Thanat Khoman said that the Thai soldiers now fighting in South Viet Nam are all volunteers below the professional officer corps. He added that this might be the solution for the U.S. A year ago Thanat Khoman wouldn't have said this; he would have been afraid of its effect on Saigon's own will to win.

Sam Brown, left, and David Hawk, coordinators of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, take a break from their planning to pose for photographers. Columnist Chamberlain notes that some judicious planning by the President could well take the wind out of the protesters' sails.

The argument that U.S. volunteers would be enough to support a "Vietnamized" war, with the Asians providing most of the ground troops, bespeaks the growth of a new confidence in Thanat Khoman's part of the world. But how is Nixon going to exploit the argument in his own rather demoralized United States?

What Washington needs is a better knowledge of the psychological components of the American "peace movement." How much of the movement is under the spell of hard-core ideological sympathizers with the North Vietnamese? And how much is simple objection to seeing the casualties mount with no apparent increase in the pace of the promised "Vietnamization" of the struggle?

If Nixon could obtain a good reading on this, it is my guess that he would be in a fine position to split his anti-war opposition. With Americans doing supply work for Asian soldiers, the endless casualty lists of conscript U.S. soldiers would disappear from the newspapers. And the motive for objecting to the war would tend to disappear among those who consider that it is anyone's right to volunteer for military service.

At this point the "Vietnam Mobilization" boys would have to fall back on the argument that the North Vietnamese have a right to take over South Viet Nam by force of arms or by subversion. How many Americans would support this perverted view of justice? Since we are not an ideological people, I suspect that Dr. Spock and the Rev. Mr. Coffin would find themselves marching at the head of a rapidly dwindling parade.

Rep. Thomas Meskill of Connecticut has offered a bill that would deprive the U.S. commander-in-chief of the power to send conscript troops into undeclared wars. Whether it would be good psychological politics to hobble a President with such legislation is a moot point; it might seem an invitation to the Che Guevaras of this world to start, "two, three or many Viet Nams" in their own back yards.

But Mr. Nixon doesn't have to wait on Rep. Meskill to put a "Vietnamized" war in Southeast Asia on a volunteer standard by, say, the end of 1970. After all, he is the commander-in-chief. A judicious statement from the White House timed for October 12 or 13, promising an end to the draft, would blow the "Vietnam Moratorium" movement on the campuses right out of the water.

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Capital Briefs

● Regular Republicans are exceedingly riled at Sen. **Robert Griffin** (Mich.), the new GOP whip, for coming out against the confirmation of Judge Haynsworth to the Supreme Court. Only a week before, say insiders, Griffin had been telling senators that he would side with Haynsworth. The Michigan solon, furthermore, had promised the President that if he should change his mind and come out against the South Carolina judge, he would not make a production out of it.

● Approached recently by Democratic politicos in California, former Golden State Sen. **Thomas Kuchel,** a GOP liberal, was asked if he would care to become a Democrat and take on incumbent Sen. George Murphy in 1970. Kuchel initially chuckled at the prospect, but then indicated he really might switch to fight if the Democrats "would put up $2 million" for his campaign. The results aren't in yet.

● **Ralph T. Smith**, the wet-behind-the-ears senatorial replacement for the late Everett Dirksen, is telling intimates that he's voting liberal; i.e., stabbing the Administration in the back, because (1) he doesn't want to be upstaged by Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.) and (2) he wants to neutralize his most likely opponent in 1970, liberal Democrat Adlai Stevenson III.

● Smith's actions have not exactly pleased party regulars. Sen. **George Murphy** (R.-Calif.), for instance, made some tart observations to Smith when he cast his vote for the multi-billion-dollar McGovern food stamp boondoggle, while Rep. **Robert Michel** (R.-Ill.) has sent the Illinois newcomer a "Dear Ralph" letter stating: "I'm going to be charitable—one Goodell is enough."

● While the Democratic party leaders—Senators Fred Harris, Edmund Muskie, Teddy Kennedy, George McGovern, et al.—are throwing their weight behind the "peace" movement in the United States, the Pentagon has been compelled to set up a surveillance team headed by Lt. Gen. William J. McCaffrey to watch out for **possible rioting** by the "peace" forces in the days ahead. Though Administration officials aren't saying anything, they are very well aware that the various important anti-war organizations—including the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, "New Mobe" and "Student Mobe"—are heavily infiltrated with Communists, pro-Communists and "hate America" radicals.

● Veteran anti-Communist experts in the Nation's Capital are sorely disappointed with both the House Committee on Internal Security and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee for not having publicly detailed the heavy Communist infiltration of the current **"peace movement."** While both committees are planning to do something—and Chairman Richard Ichord of HCIS made a short statement regarding the peace movement last week—knowledgeable anti-Communists believe that if a detailed expose had been done earlier, much of the steam would have been taken out of the present anti-war drive.

● Sen. **Charles Goodell** (R.-N.Y.), conservative-turned-ultra-liberal, got his first opponent last week for the 1970 GOP senatorial nomination. State Sen. Edward J. Speno, a moderate conservative, announced his candidacy and made clear that Goodell's flaunting of traditional party principles would be his major issue. Other candidates may jump into the fray.

● The national conservative youth organization, **Young Americans for Freedom,** has announced plans to immobilize the left by mounting a "legal offensive" against both radical students and administrators. Although the details are yet to be worked out, the 50,000-member organization hopes to employ a battery of legal devices, including law suits against university administrators when they fail to act against disruptive students and fail to honor contractual obligations to conduct classes. The conservative student organization is also intending to rely on federal civil rights laws to protect the rights of students at state-supported schools.

● Surprise, Surprise, Department: The New York Times has sharply scolded the "Reagan-dominated" regents of the University of California for discharging **Angela Davis** because she is an admitted Communist. In recently addressing the enthusiastic students at the University of California at Los Angeles, incidentally, Miss Davis contended that the "first condition of freedom is an open act of resistance—physical resistance, violent resistance."

● Radical-leftists are blamed for a **rash of bombings** last week: ROTC headquarters at Columbia University, a Chicago statue commemorating the city's policemen and Selective Service offices in New York. At SDS headquarters in Chicago, leaders were jubilant over the bomb reports. "The pigs are on the run," chortled one leader.

● Atty. Gen. **John Mitchell** lashed into congressional Democrats last week for stalling a federal crackdown on street criminals, narcotics dealers and organized racketeers. Mitchell said the Administration has "launched a comprehensive anti-crime program as a first priority" but its entire legislative package is languishing in committee.

● The AFL-CIO is ready to scuttle its high-powered drive for a $2-an-hour minimum wage. Reason: Big Labor's barons now think that a $2 wage would be "obsolete," favor a **$2.50 minimum** instead. Says United Steelworkers President I.W. Abel: "The federal minimum wage should be at least $2.50 an hour and should automatically be increased in periods of inflation."

● A steady stream of undercover police agents have testified in the trial of the "Chicago Eight" that organizers of the **1968 protests** at the Democratic National Convention were intent on fomenting violence. Rennie Davis, one of the defendants, was quoted as telling followers that they "would do anything possible" to disrupt the convention.

● **Abe Fortas** hit rock bottom last week. The Washington Social Register dropped the former Supreme Court justice and his wife from their listings—along with former Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., former Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark and former Democratic National Chairman Lawrence O'Brien.

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Human Events is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One-year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon at right).

Bound volumes, fully indexed. Any year, $20.00. Any six years $100.00.

1968 in 1 Volume — 1962 in 2 Volumes
1967 in 1 Volume — 1961 in 2 Volumes
1966 in 1 Volume

Past volumes of *Human Events* on microfilm available directly from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Reprinted bound volumes, 1960 and prior, available directly from Johnson Reprint Corp., 111 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003.

Human Events cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *Human Events*.

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

ADDRESS CHANGES: Write new address, city, state and ZIP Code on plain sheet of paper. Attach mailing label from an issue of HUMAN EVENTS and send to: Circulation Department, HUMAN EVENTS, 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Allow 3 to 4 weeks for change to become effective.

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Congressmen Back Viet Bug-Out

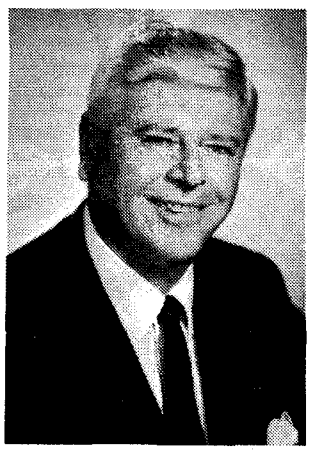
No fewer than 17 senators and 47 congressmen—names listed below—sent a letter to the Vietnam Moratorium Committee last week declaring that they shared the committee's views about ending the war. The fact is, of course, that virtually everyone wants to conclude the war in Viet Nam, but the burning question is, does the United States want to conclude it by surrendering to the Communists?

This fall's "peace offensive"—of which the Vietnam Moratorium Committee is a definite part—is certain to aid the Communist enemy in Viet Nam.

The fall protest movement, which is to begin in October with boycotts of the campuses and continue in November with a massive march on Washington, is playing directly into the hands of Hanoi and the Viet Cong; it is enthusiastically supported by Communists here and abroad, and, indeed, in many instances, U.S. Communists and pro-Red radicals are shaping the "peace" strategy and techniques. To be unaware of Communist infiltration, direction and support of the peace offensive is to be blind.

• Here's what the *Daily World,* official organ of the U.S. Communist party, says about the peace offensive in an October 9 editorial: "Popular support for the October 15 Moratorium against the war in Viet Nam is mushrooming, with the turnout on that day expected to exceed anything so far produced by the U.S. peace movement." However, notes the *World* with some somberness, "there is some foot-dragging with voices from yet unclear sources arguing that since October will be taken over mainly by students and politicians, the thing to do is wait until November 15 for the 'real thing'. . . .

"The argument on its face is specious. Far from detracting from the impact of the November 15 mobilization, the October 15 demonstrations, by rehearsing the procedures of popular protest and bringing new forces into activity, actually can make the latter events more effective."



MORTON

HARRIS

• Communist negotiators in Paris last week hailed dovish U.S. congressmen and other Americans who are participating in peace demonstrations and pressing President Nixon to speed up troop withdrawals from South Viet Nam.

Warmly praising the "peace movement" in the United States, Col. Ha Van Lau, Hanoi's deputy negotiator, and Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, the Viet Cong's "foreign minister," appealed to American citizens to increase their resistance and compel President Nixon to accept their negotiating proposals in Paris.

Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh proclaimed that, "A powerful anti-war movement is developing in the United States involving various social strata, including people in American political circles. Many senators have voiced their support for that movement, rejected the demand for a moratorium on criticisms of the Nixon Administration's policy of aggression and urged President Nixon to fix a time limit for the total withdrawal of troops."

She said, further, that, "The Vietnamese people warmly acclaim this movement of the American people who demand the Nixon Administration to put an end to the war of aggression in Viet Nam and withdraw rapidly and totally American troops. This movement tightens the solidarity between the Vietnamese people and the progressive people in the U.S. in their struggle for the common interests of the two nations."

• Sympathy for the "peace movement" also comes from Mr. Tran Buu Kiem, chairman of the South Vietnam Liberation Students' Union, a puppet youth organization of Hanoi.

In an open letter addressed to American students and youth on the occasion of the "fall peace offensive," Mr. Tran Buu Kiem stressed how much the Communist students "greatly admire the active

and massive participation of the American youths in this fall struggle movement. . . .We hail the strong development of your struggle movement. . . .We are extremely touched by the warm sympathy and support you have reserved for the struggle of our people, the NLFSV and the Republic of South Vietnam Provisional Revolutionary Government. . . .

"More than anyone else, you are aware that your interests and those of the American people and the United States do not lie in. . .a drop-by-drop troop pullout, but in the quick and complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Viet Nam; not in the Vietnamization or de-Americanization of the war in South Viet Nam, which is unpopular and costly in human and material resources, but in ending it. This is the only honorable way out for the United States. . . ."

In addition, as *Human Events* related in this space last week, the militantly radical New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam—whose steering committee is littered with Communists and pro-Communists—has become the chief "peace group" in the country. Aside from distributing pro-Viet Cong literature from its Washington headquarters, the group has on its steering committee such characters as Arnold Johnson, the public relations director for the U.S. Communist party, and individuals such as Irving Sarnoff, who have been identified as Communists but who have taken the 5th Amendment when asked about their Communist activities.

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee—while not Communist controlled—is, nevertheless, working hand-in-glove with "New Mobe." The VMC, for instance, is using the suite of rooms just below the suite being used by "New Mobe" and traffic between the two floors has been extensive. Members of both the VMC and "New Mobe," incidentally, acknowledge close cooperation, and David Hawk actually represents the VMC on the steering committee of "New Mobe."

VMC militancy can be gauged in other ways as well. Despite some incredibly erroneous impressions of the Vietnam Moratorium gathered by GOP National Chairman Rogers C. B. Morton, who made the fantastic claim last week that the moratorium was a "good thing," the moratorium was *not* devised by those who just wish to assemble for the purpose of quietly discussing the worth of the Viet Nam war.

As literature dispensed by the Vietnam Moratorium makes absolutely clear, the committees' aim is to promote a general strike—to get "massive and diverse sectors of American society to cease to do 'business as usual'"— a condition that would compel the President to capitulate to the Viet Cong.

Indeed, Sam Brown, the chief spokesman for the Moratorium committee, has indicated that he would like to see the other side win, since he insists that U.S. intervention in the war was actually an "attack" on South Viet Nam. Mr. Brown also alleges that the United States is "now the great imperialist-aggressor nation in the world."

In brief, those who are supporting the VMC and the protest movement in general have made common cause with the Communist enemy. Why don't you write the following lawmakers who endorsed the moratorium last week and ask them why they have chosen to do so?

• Senators who signed the letter supporting the October 15 anti-war demonstrations were:

Democrats: Bayh (Ind.), Church (Idaho), Cranston (Calif.), Eagleton (Mo.), Harris (Okla.), Hart (Mich.), Hartke (Ind.), Hughes (Iowa), McCarthy (Minn.), McGovern (N.D.), Mondale (Minn.), Nelson (Wis.), Randolph (W. Va.), Tydings (Md.), Young (Ohio).

Republicans: Goodell (N.Y.), Hatfield (Ore.).

• Representatives who signed the letter included:

Democrats: Adams (Wash.), Bingham (N.Y.), Boland (Mass.), Brademas (Ind.), Brown, Jr. (Calif.), Burton (Calif.), Chisholm (N.Y.), Clay (Mo.), Conyers (Mich.), Eckhardt (Tex.), Edwards (Calif.), Farbstein (N.Y.), Fraser (Minn.), Gilbert (N.Y.), Hawkins (Calif.), Hechler (W. Va.), Green (Pa.), Jacobs, Jr. (Ind.), Kastenmeier (Wis.), Koch (N.Y.), Lowenstein (N.Y.), Mikva (Ill.), Mink (Hawaii), Moorhead (Pa.), Ottinger (N.Y.), Podell (N.Y.), Rees (Calif.), Rosenthal (N.Y.), Roybal (Calif.), Ryan (N.Y.), St.Onge (Conn.), Scheuer (N.Y.), Stokes (Ohio), Thompson, Jr. (N.J.), Tiernan (R.I.), Tunney (Calif.), Udall (Ariz.).

Republicans: Button (N.Y.), Conte (Mass.), Esch (Mich.), Findley (Ill.), Halpern (N.Y.), McCloskey, Jr. (Calif.), Morse (Mass.), Reid (N.Y.), Riegle Jr. (Mich.).

Acheson Sounds Off

Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson has some very definite views on those otherwise brilliant intellectuals who feel qualified to speak with authority on all subjects, just because they are accomplished in their particular academic discipline. Acheson, certainly no intellectual slouch himself, gave his views in an interview last week with the New York *Times.*

ACHESON

The occasion was the publication of Acheson's latest book, *Present At the Creation: My Years in the State Department.* In the interview, as in his book, Acheson drew on his far-ranging experiences. One of the intellectuals Acheson knew well in his State Department days under President Harry Truman was the noted nuclear scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer, whom, says Acheson, "I admired very much." However, the diplomat-turned-lawyer told the *Times,* "Oppie was one of the most naive people I knew. How he reached his age and knew as little about the outside world as he did, I don't know. . . ."

Acheson then related an incident that occurred when he accompanied Oppenheimer to a session in Truman's office. According to Acheson, the Princeton scientist "was wringing his hands" and saying "'I have blood on my hands'" because of his role in developing the atomic bomb. After Oppenheimer had departed, President Truman told Acheson:

"Don't ever bring that damn fool in here again. He didn't set that bomb off. I did. This kind of sniveling makes me sick." Adds Acheson: "It made me slightly sick as well." (Oppen-

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heimer, of course, was later denied security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission because of his earlier association with known Communists.)

Elaborating on his theme, Acheson told *Times* reporter Israel Shenker: "What also made me sick was the scientists' feeling that by making a bomb they knew everything there was to know about foreign relations and could bring peace to the world. *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* is the greatest bit of nonsense since the *New Republic*."

Times have not changed much since those days, notes Acheson. "The intellectual, strictly channeled into one discipline, wants to run them all. This is why Dr. Spock gives me a pain, why Bill Coffin [Yale Chaplain William Coffin]—a hell of a nice fellow—by being a Protestant clergyman knows everything about international affairs. He doesn't. When I was a trustee at Yale I wanted to give him a hemlock cocktail to relieve him of some of his responsibilities."

Two Conservative Victories

Thirteen may be a lucky number after all. Last week conservatives scored stunning primary triumphs in both the 13th Congressional District in Illinois and the 13th state senatorial district in Wisconsin. Dr. Philip M. Crane, an established leader in the conservative movement, handily captured the GOP nomination for the Illinois House seat vacated by former Rep. Donald Rumsfeld, who left to assume directorship of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

David Keene, a 24-year-old law student and current chairman of the national conservative youth group, Young Americans for Freedom, also won a Republican state senatorial nomination in Wisconsin. (Both Crane and Keene are expected to win against their Democratic opponents in the general election in November.)

The two candidates, politicos note, won *decisive primary victories by hewing to a hard-line, conservative point of view.*

Dr. Crane, director of research in 1964 for the Illinois Goldwater organization and a member of the National Advisory Board of YAF, ran strongly in nearly all eight townships in his north and northeast suburban district, leading his closest of 10 rivals by over 2,000 votes. And Crane, unquestionably, articulated the most conservative position of all the candidates.

Even more startling, the hard-charging, highly personable Dr. Crane swept past his primary opponents while running his campaign on a shoestring and bucking the conservative and powerful Chicago *Tribune*. (The *Tribune*, which didn't even mention Crane in its editorial endorsement of former Illinois revenue director Sam Young, looks kindly on Crane, however, and will undoubtedly give him its wholehearted support in the weeks of campaigning ahead.)

CRANE

KEENE

Crane supporters believe he won for a variety of reasons. He's young, he's attractive and he is an excellent, articulate exponent of the conservative philosophy. Aside from this, he had a crackerjack campaign organization (Crane for Congress Committee, 845 Pine St., Winnetka, Ill. 60093), headed by former St. Louis, Mo., legislator Jerry Harkins, who captained the Missouri for Reagan group in last year's presidential campaign.

Moreover, Crane was able to recruit former Percy and Rumsfeld supporters and many YAF members flocked to his aid. The direct mail campaign conducted by the politically savvy Richard Viguerie, head of his own direct mail firm in Washington, also proved a windfall for the Crane organization.

Crane discovered that his tough, no-nonsense stands against inflation, taxes and government spending had the most impact on the voters. When it came to Viet Nam, the candidate said he was in basic agreement with President Nixon's policy of "Vietnamization" of the war, but he also advocated, if Hanoi continues to refuse to negotiate, that the following military and economic pressures be applied to the Communists: the stopping of all U.S. trade with Communist bloc countries; the stopping of all aid to nations trading with Communist countries; the closing of the Panama Canal to all ships dealing with Hanoi; and permitting South Viet Nam to close Haiphong harbor.

YAF National Chairman David Keene captured his nomination by conducting a similarly hard-hitting conservative campaign. (Keene for State Senator headquarters is located at 116 North Main St., Fort Atkinson, Wis., 53538.) Another highly articulate political activist, Keene sharply criticized the high taxes imposed by Wisconsin's GOP Gov. Warren Knowles.

"The governor," claimed Keene in a brochure, "has already presided over an orgy of tax increases, but the appetite of the state administration for more funds remains unsatiated. My philosophy of government will not permit me to vote for any measures which increase the tax burden." Keene also made much out of the fact that he was young and would be in a better position than other candidates to deal with the campus problems. He stressed that university administrators who cave in to rioting students should "resign or be fired."

Both the Crane and Keene victories, say politicos, reveal that the restive public appears very receptive to a non wishy-washy brand of conservatism in their candidates.

Bayh's Charges Refuted

White House aides and fair-minded GOP lawmakers are absolutely appalled at the way a number of Republican senators—including Robert Griffin (Mich.), Margaret Chase Smith (Maine) and Ralph T. Smith (Ill.)—have panicked on the Haynsworth issue. While it is agreed they have every right to vote against confirmation of the South Carolina jurist, they all too obviously decided to come out against the judge even before the Judiciary Committee report was completed. Neither of the Smiths, incidentally, is even on the Judiciary Committee.

BAYH

A number of senators supporting Haynsworth for the Supreme Court are complaining that Griffin, the two Smiths, and others, have run away from the President's nominee on the basis of mischievous press accounts by liberal columnists and the totally irresponsible attacks by Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.). At least two senators, for instance, were known to be so angry with what they believed to be Griffin's cowardly conduct that they were seriously considering drafting a resolution to kick him out of his newly acquired GOP whip position.

So far the charges against Haynsworth have been cast by his enemies, not by objective observers. But even if some serious breach of ethics were finally to be discovered or proved, it is contended that the GOP senators who have rushed to kill off the judge could at least have waited until the Judiciary Committee, which approved his nomination by a 10-to-7 vote last week, had released its majority report defending Haynsworth.

What sort of "Republicans," it is being asked, would refuse to give the President of their own party the benefit of the doubt before all the evidence and argumentation are in?

If Haynsworth's record is so "tainted," some Republicans are asking, then why hasn't John Williams (R.-Del.), the conscience of the Senate, risen to denounce the judge? Although Williams has not yet announced his final decision, when he has addressed himself to the Haynsworth matter he has defended the South Carolina judge against charges of wrongdoing. If Haynsworth's record is so bad, it is being asked, then why has Clark Mollenhoff, the President's deputy counsel, whose reputation for integrity is legendary, circulated material denying in detail Sen. Birch Bayh's charges against the judge?

The liberal Washington *Post*, itself a foe of Haynsworth's judicial views, said last week: "As far as the general public is concerned, his integrity and his honesty have been questioned and he has been labeled an all-out segregationist and foe of labor. Few of the charges made against him, in our judgment, are valid. . . . Some of the opposition to him is based on honest philosophical differences or sincere concern over ethics. But some of it, while cloaked in those terms, is based on a rather more primitive impulse to humiliate the President.

"Given another time and another set of political and historical circumstances—those of a few years ago or those that are likely to exist a few years from now—a man with Judge Haynsworth's record would be confirmed with a routine inquiry and perhaps some noise, but not much."

In going through Sen. Bayh's "bill of particulars" against Judge Haynsworth last week, Mollenhoff found that Bayh's charges had no substance.

The Indiana solon, for instance, contended that there were at "least five cases" in which Judge Haynsworth held a financial interest "substantial enough" to require disqualification under 28 USC 455 and to "constitute impropriety" under the Canons of judicial ethics. Mollenhoff, analyzing each one, finds that this is just not so.

One of Bayh's "discoveries," for example, was that Haynsworth had sat on a case involving the Greenville Community Hotel Corp. in 1962, a company in which Haynsworth, according to Bayh, owned some stock. But as Mollenhoff revealed, Haynsworth "had no stock in Greenville Community Hotel Corp. in 1962, and had held no stock since 1958." In fact, Mollenhoff added, the largest amount he ever held of that stock "was one share with a value of $21 in the 1956-to-1958 period on which he received one 15-cent dividend in 1957."

Sen. Bayh also rehashed the charge that it was improper for Haynsworth to sit on cases in which firms that did business with Carolina Vend-A-Matic were involved. As Mollenhoff points out, this issue was rejected decisively by a representative of the American Bar Association as well as by John P. Frank, a leading authority on conflicts of interest.

Finally, Mollenhoff blasts Bayh's insinuation that the increased profits of Carolina Vend-A-Matic were in some manner tied to Judge Haynsworth's elevation to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Sen. Bayh, Mollenhoff points out, makes no charge that Haynsworth "performed even one questionable act" to obtain business for the food vending firm in which he had a one-seventh interest. "He only insinuates that the increased profits of Carolina Vend-A-Matic must have somehow been related to the fact that Judge Haynsworth was a federal judge."

"It can be stated," Mollenhoff asserts, "that there is no evidence that Judge Haynsworth ever did one thing to solicit business for Carolina Vend-A-Matic. In fact, all of the evidence is to the contrary. Judge Haynsworth testified that he did nothing to promote or solicit business for the food vending firm, and that the management of the business was left in other hands (Wade Dennis). That testimony is unchallenged." Furthermore, said Mollenhoff, this has been corroborated by other sources.

Finally, Alex Kiriakides Jr. of a rival vending firm, the Atlas Vending Co., Inc., of Greenville, S.C., has risen to Haynsworth's defense. Kiriakides has written a letter to the Senate Judiciary Committee stating his concern over what he terms "the slanders which are being circulated in the press about Judge

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Haynsworth and Carolina Vend-A-Matic." Carolina Vend-A-Matic, Kiriakides insists, was not developed on the basis of improper influence. Not only was the bidding competitive, he said, but "I know that Judge Haynsworth's name was never used in an attempt to influence anybody. As a very active competitor, I knew what was going on in the business, and I would have heard of it if it had been."

Despite such refutations, however, the embattled Judge Haynsworth faced possible defeat because a good many scared "Republicans" ran out on him before they had even heard the evidence.

Goodwin Defends Electoral College

Conservatives in the Nation's Capital are considerably upset with President Nixon for endorsing a constitutional amendment passed by the House that would provide for the direct election of the President.

GOODWIN

The House-passed amendment, which would scrap the electoral college and greatly enhance federal power over both the states and political parties (see *Human Events*, Sept. 27, page 3), would hardly help to advance the "New Federalism" that the President is so fond of talking about. Moreover, it flies in the face of the Mundt plan reported out by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee which would keep the electoral college system intact, but would have the majority of electors chosen from congressional districts rather than on a statewide basis.

The President, furthermore, is supporting the direct election plan at the very time that a number of liberals are worried about scrapping the electoral college. For instance, Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.), the new GOP leader in the Senate, prefers the Mundt plan to the direct election plan, while Sen. Gale McGee, a liberal Democrat from Wyoming, is also in favor of keeping the electoral college.

McGee, moreover, recently inserted into the *Congressional Record* an article by, of all people, Richard Goodwin, defending the electoral college. Goodwin suggested that the "direct popular election" of the President might "unhinge the entire political structure." For there is good reason to believe, said Goodwin, that such a radical change might result in a proliferation of national parties. Adds the former supporter of Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy:

"The possibility of multi-party activity is as much a matter of the psychology of presidential politics as of pure reason, which is probably why it is so little discussed, for relatively few of those involved have had direct experience in presidential campaigns.

"Yet I believe that our history combines with modern experience to demonstrate that the inability to receive any electoral votes has been a powerful deterrent to third and fourth and fifth-party movements. If this is so, then direct election could not come at a worse time—when the tendency to political fragmentation and ideological division is reaching new heights."

The electoral college, Goodwin insists, "has not only faithfully reflected the popular will; it has usually strengthened it by giving a candidate with a narrow popular margin a far larger electoral mandate. Against this historical experience is now set the argument that the electoral system offends the theoretical democratic principle of 'one man, one vote.'"

Strangely enough, however, Goodwin, a liberal Democrat, argues that our government is *not* based on the "one-man, one-vote" concept. Our government, he contends, "is not a pure democracy, nor does anyone suggest that it should be."

Warns Goodwin: "The system is not perfect, and I believe we need some fundamental changes. But when we are asked to change an institution as basic as the electoral college, the only relevant questions are practical ones. How is it working? What are its functions? What will be the consequences of change? To act on the basis of rhetoric about pure democracy may have threatening consequences for the future of our actual democracy, and would be in a spirit foreign to the Constitution itself. . . .

"We have never before amended the Constitution in anticipation of possible abuse or on the basis of abstract theory. Only after an abuse has manifested itself, and usually after considerable public pressure, have we acted, and even then with reluctance. Surely this is one of the reasons why the American Constitution has endured while more volatile republics rose and fell."

Richard Nixon, some conservatives are contending, should look to Richard Goodwin when it comes to enunciating views on the electoral college.

AFL-CIO Backs War, But...

Meeting in Atlantic City last week, AFL-CIO convention delegates voted 999 to 1 to support the Administration's effort to end the war through "an honorable peace." The resolution was much in line with a ringing endorsement of President Nixon's Viet Nam policies presented to the union gathering by Defense Secretary Melvin Laird. In his speech Laird had stressed that a united front at home plus the President's determination to "Vietnamize" the war were the vital ingredients needed to settle the war on honorable terms.

The AFL-CIO delegates overwhelmingly agreed. The peace movement, the labor federation's resolution emphasized, only serves to obstruct the persistent peace efforts made by the President and only encourages North Viet Nam to prolong the war.

Yet while organized labor appeared to be supporting the President on the surface, behind the scenes, in blind loyalty to the Democratic party, the monolithic labor federation has laid plans to re-elect some of the most ardent doves in the nation—the very doves the labor federation was, in effect, condemning at its own convention.

Though the 1970 congressional elections are still more than a year away, the AFL-CIO has been diligently helping liberal Democratic lawmakers in an effort to get them re-elected. Among those the federation is supporting or preparing to support: Senators Teddy Kennedy (Mass.), Edmund Muskie (Maine), Albert Gore (Tenn.), Vance Hartke (Ind.), Ralph Yarborough (Tex.) and Stephen Young (Ohio).

Each of these men is considered a stalwart dove, with some, like Kennedy, Muskie and Young, almost daily calling for policies which would result in both unilateral disarmament and surrender to the Communist enemy in Viet Nam and elsewhere.

Apparently unconcerned about thrusting peacenik Democrats into office, the AFL-CIO has embarked on one of the most ambitious plans yet for the 1970 elections.

The Committee on Political Education (COPE), the AFL-CIO's political arm, has, for the first time, set up a special subcommittee to concentrate on close House races in which peaceniks will also be supported. The federation, further, has begun to conduct annual rather than biennial voter registrations, financing them in large part from the federation's general treasury. In the past, COPE depended on voluntary contributions for such work.

"COPE," notes the *Wall Street Journal*, "expects to dole out about $500,000 this year for registration activity. About $250,000 has already been approved for operations in 17 states. These efforts, while broad and nonpartisan, will concentrate first on registering union members, their families and others likely to vote for labor's friends."

An intensive drive is now getting under way in Texas, where voters must be registered anew for each congressional election. COPE plans to pour $20,000 into Texas and expects local labor groups will add as much as $140,000. Union politicos believe that Sen. Ralph Yarborough, chairman of the Senate Labor Committee, will be nearly unbeatable if 4.5 million voters register. "We're going to win this election in the registration period," said one Yarborough backer.

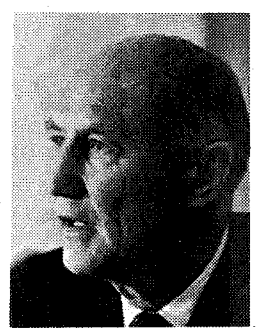
"In two decades," declared James O'Brien, the steelworkers' political action director, "I haven't seen as early and thorough preparation" by labor for an election. Yarborough also lines up with the "dove" faction: he cast his vote this year against the ABM.

Organized labor is also partially responsible for electing several "softies" to the House this year. Rep. David Obey of Wisconsin, John Melcher of Montana and Michael J. Harrington of Massachusetts —each of whom won a special House election this year—lean toward the dovish side of the fence.

In short, the AFL-CIO pays a lot of lip service to President Nixon's foreign policy, but when elections roll around the labor federation plumps for the very "peace at any price" advocates it hollers against at its regular conventions.

Strom's Talk With the Russians

In an effort to pressure the Nixon Administration into conciliating the Communists, the Soviets have been trying to work on South Carolina's Sen. Strom Thurmond. Last week, for instance, George Ratiania, head of the American section for *Pravda*, the Communist party newspaper in Russia, and Igor Bubnov, first secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, went to Thurmond's Senate office to sound him out on a few matters.



THURMOND

The Soviets, it seems, were most anxious to get Thurmond—whose voice packs much weight in this Administration—to come out for a coalition government in South Viet Nam and increased East-West trade. Thurmond, however, told the Soviets that the history of coalition governments reveals they go Communist, and he wanted no part of that. So far as East-West trade was concerned, Thurmond stressed that this was not the way to peace.

World peace, the South Carolinian told his guests, could come about very easily if the Soviets just renounced their goal of world domination and stopped invading countries like Czechoslovakia.

Getting nowhere with the conservative lawmaker, the Russkis apparently left in a somewhat distressed mood. They would have to tell Moscow that Sen. Thurmond—as Capitol Hill observers could have told the Russians a long time ago—is just not about to fall for Soviet sweet talk and blandishments.

White House Fellowships

Bright young conservatives were urged last week to apply for positions as White House Fellows. Informed sources made clear that in this Administration, at least, the applications of conservatives would be welcome.

The Fellows program, originated during the Johnson Administration, is designed to give future leaders "firsthand, high-level experience with the workings of the federal government and to increase their sense of participation in national affairs."

The 86 Fellows who have served during the past five years have included lawyers, scientists, business executives, scholars, journalists and local officials. The program is open to persons—ages 23 to 35—from all fields, except civil service employes. Applications for next year's program will be accepted until December 24, with information and application forms available from Hudson B. Drake, Commission on White House Fellows, The White House, Washington, D.C.

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CIA Blunders in Libya

U.S. Loses Yet Another Mideast Foothold

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The Central Intelligence Agency bears a heavy responsibility for the survival of the United States. It must discover and warn our political leadership about threats to our vital interests around the world. It must carry out action programs to protect those interests. Whether our cause prospers or fails in foreign lands will often depend upon the wisdom and skill with which CIA does its work.

The agency cannot speak for itself. Nor can the public know the details of its operations. The people get only occasional glimpes of the results—when a Communist dictator is deposed in Guatemala, when a Bay of Pigs invasion flounders, when the National Student Association reveals its CIA subsidies, when Green Beret officers are arrested for doing CIA work.

The Green Beret foul-up was a product of bad Army management. CIA has funds and resources for its missions. If it needs undercover operatives, it should employ them. But the Army should never have placed its officers under CIA direction.

The Army has its own intelligence work which it controls and directs. There must be coordination with the CIA of related work and separation of unrelated work. But Army officers should never be placed under CIA control to receive CIA orders unknown to senior Army commanders.

Libya's pro-Western King Idris I was overthrown by a Socialist-oriented band of army officers. The country, with large oil reserves, occupies a strategic spot on the Mediterranean.

More damaging to our interest than the Green Beret snafu was the overthrow of King Idris of Libya by a clique of pro-Nasser officers of the Libyan military forces. Our position in the Mediterranean is threatened by the loss of key territory.

King Idris had ruled since Libya gained its independence in 1952. He had been friendly to the West while realistically devoted to the interests of his Arab people. Like President Bourguiba in Tunisia and King Hassan II in Morocco, King Idris rejected the socialism of Moscow to retain the traditional social order of Arab nationalism.

King Idris allowed the United States to maintain Wheelus Air Base. He accepted U.S. aid. Then, when oil was struck in the southwest in 1957, Libya became rich. It became a target of Nasser's pan-Arab ambitions. In his eyes, Libya was a rich prize to be captured.

In such situations, it is the job of CIA to protect the United States interest. With our stake in Wheelus Air Base, we had a vital interest in continuing a friendly government in Libya. By penetrating potentially hostile groups and detecting subversive threats, CIA could quietly warn friendly governments about impending coups. It had apparently had some recent success in Saudi Arabia, where a friendly government smashed an incipient coup. But it has also had serious failures—notably in Iraq, and now in Libya.

The overthrow of King Idris is a serious blow to the United States and to our allies in Europe. We can expect a hostile regime to direct Libyan policy. The United States will be evicted from Wheelus Air Base. Western oil operations will be squeezed but will be continued while American dollars are needed for the Socialist cause.

Friendly Tunisia and Morocco are under increasing pressure. Whether the present rulers can continue their Western orientation or even survive is a serious question. If the whole of North Africa comes under Soviet influence, Europe will be flanked and the position of our 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean will be compromised.

Nasser's designs on Libya have long been known. CIA failure to detect the particular conspiracy has enabled the Soviet Union to extend its penetration of the Arab world.

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Nixon Faces Red Trade Hassle

By PAUL SCOTT

A showdown over U.S. trade policy toward the Soviet bloc is shaping up in Congress.

The outcome, which congressional leaders say is still in doubt, could have a far-reaching effect on President Nixon's bargaining power in future negotiations with Communist nations.

The crucial battle will be over legislation extending the Export Control Act, which authorizes the President to regulate trade with the Soviet bloc. The legislation is scheduled to come up on the House floor within the next week.

The extension of the present law, which expires on October 30, for two more years is being vigorously supported by the President on the grounds it will give him a strong bargaining weapon in future negotiations with Russia and the Eastern European nations.

"If we are to increase trade with the Communists, we must get political concessions in turn," the President stated at a recent White House meeting of Republican congressional leaders.

The conference was called to discuss methods to combat a well-coordinated drive by liberal Democrats in the House and Senate to turn the Export Control Act into a law that encourages increased trade with Communist nations without other considerations.

The President warned that weakening of the Export Control Act, as proposed by the liberal Democrats, would completely gut his policy to use trade as a major negotiating weapon against the Communists.

Specifically, the President asked GOP House leaders to begin rallying bipartisan support to block an expected move by Representatives Thomas L. Ashley (D.-Ohio) and Garry Brown (R.-Mich.) to amend the extension bill when it comes up in the House.

Under strategy adopted at a series of private meetings, the Ashley-Brown group decided to try to write a new declaration of policy into the Export Control law which would encourage trade with Communist nations. It would also greatly weaken the President's powers to ban the shipment of strategic materials to Communist nations.

Under the proposed amendment, shipment of strategic materials to any Red nation could only be barred if the President determined that "such exported item is capable of a significant military application which might prove detrimental to the national security and welfare of the U.S."

The Ashley-Brown amendment is similar to legislation which Sen. Walter Mondale (D.-Minn.) and Edmund Muskie (D.-Maine) succeeded in getting the Senate Banking and Currency Committee to approve earlier this year. This legislation is now pending on the Senate calendar.

Efforts of the Ashley-Brown group to get the House Banking and Currency Committee to approve their proposal were defeated by a bipartisan group of House Democrats and Republicans on the committee. They successfully argued that the U.S. should not increase trade with Soviet bloc nations while they are supplying arms to North Viet Nam.

In their meeting with the President, the House GOP lawmakers reported that the chief executive would have to take a strong public stand if the Mondale-Muskie proposal was to be defeated.

"Mr. President, if you want to save the Export Control Act, the Mondale-Muskie bill must be shown up for what it really is," stated one House Republican leader. "You must publicly point out that their legislation, if adopted, will benefit countries now sending arms to North Viet Nam to kill American soldiers."

The GOP legislative leaders told the President that if he took this strong public stand a majority of Democrats in the House, including Speaker John McCormack (D.-Mass.), would support him.

Senate Republican leaders were not as optimistic. They reported that the President would have to concentrate on winning over individual Democrats in the Senate, since the Democratic leadership has already endorsed the Mondale-Muskie bill.

Note: On September 15, according to information gathered by American Naval intelligence, 22 Soviet bloc ships were in Haiphong harbor unloading military supplies for North Viet Nam forces.

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A Blistering Report on FTC

Bureaucracy's Failings Know No Bounds

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

In a town that lives on surveys, reports and investigations—and usually buries them—it takes a phenomenally good report to rise above the crowd. Such a report came down a month ago from a special committee of the American Bar Association, assigned to take a look at the Federal Trade Commission.

The committee's caustic observations and constructive recommendations have been widely reported. In brief, the committee found that the FTC is bogged down in poor planning, bad management and general incompetence. Several remedies were proposed; if these are ignored, or prove ineffective, the FTC should be abolished altogether.

The bar committee's report, simply as a report, merits high praise on at least four counts. And because government agencies are forever being studied, from here to Caracas, these achievements call for a few hosannahs.

First: The report was on time. President Nixon asked for the FTC study by September 15. He got it.

Second: The report was brief. It was not superficial; it was simply to the point.

Third: The report was readable. It

California's Finance Director Caspar Weinberger, tapped by the President to head the FTC, will have his work cut out for him.

was not couched in the syntactical rubber cement that passes for written English in most such endeavors.

Finally, the report manifestly was the work of the committee members themselves, and not of some faceless "staff." Right down to a brilliant supplementary essay by Richard Posner, a former FTC lawyer who now teaches law at the University of Chicago, the report carried the bell-like ring of its authors' convictions. Miles W. Kirkpatrick of Philadelphia, chairman of the committee, did a superlative job.

What emerged from the committee's labors is a fascinating lesson in the anatomy of bureaucracy. The Federal Trade Commission came into existence in 1914. Today it employs 1,200 persons and operates on a $17-million annual budget. Its responsibilities for consumer protection are sweeping. John D. French, another former FTC lawyer who now practices in Minneapolis, remarks in a concurring statement that the FTC ought to be "the most exciting agency in Washington." It is the dullest and most contemptible instead.

Every fault known to bureaucracy turns up in the committee's dissection.

The marble monuments of the Nation's Capital mask the often incredible doings of a Civil Service, many of whose members are underworked and overpaid.

One such fault is bureaucracy's obsession with trivia. Within the FTC, the only division that has functioned energetically is the Bureau of Textiles and Furs. In one instance the bureau hurled the massive powers of law enforcement against a wretch of a coatmaker who had labeled his fur, "S.W. Africa" instead of spelling it out: Southwest Africa. In another case, the bureau marched in full panoply against a blanket maker who advertised "90 per cent wool" in a blanket that contained—zounds!—93.-7 per cent wool.

Another failing of bureaucracy is delay. In a typical case, the FTC began an investigation of Geritol in 1959, issued a complaint in 1962, issued an order in 1965, received a report of compliance in 1968, and lamely concluded, in March 1969, that certain of Geritol's commercials still were in violation. Another case ran on for eight years of investigation preceding an order; then an appellate federal court remanded the case for further evidence, on the grounds that the original evidence was out of date.

Still another failing is the incompetence of bureau chiefs, resulting from the stodgy practice of promotion by tenure alone. A familiar charge—vividly evident at the FTC—is that bureaucratic commissions often serve as prosecutor, chief witness, judge and jury.

Bureaucracy is marked by buck-passing, by internal dissensions, by professional jealousies, by spastic policy-making. The ABA committee found all these ailments in its diagnosis of the FTC.

If the report itself had a fault, it was summed up by Prof. Posner: The committee did not examine the basic question: What is the need, if any, for a government agency charged with protecting consumers from deception or ignorance? But this is a large question of philosophy and policy, and probably was beyond the scope of the committee's assignment. In every other respect, the report of the Kirkpatrick committee is a knock-out.

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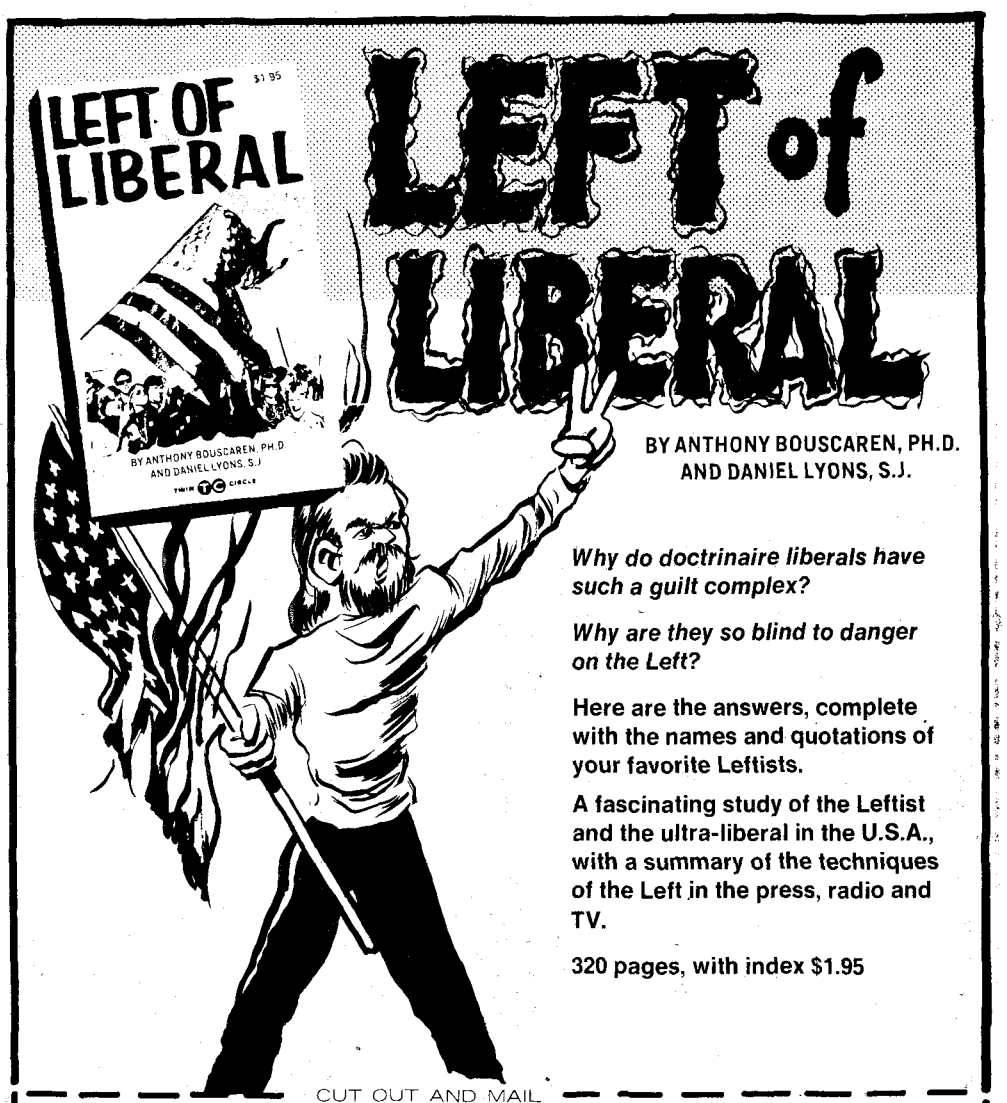
IN THE FAMILY—"Someone said people who want to change democracy for socialism are 'blind,' and added, 'Life in Russia is a nightmare which has to end sometime.' Someone else said, 'There will never be any progress or peace in this hemisphere as long as Communist imperialism possesses a sanctuary in Cuba, thus being able to indirectly conspire against and attack all the nations in America.' Do these statements sound as if they were uttered by ultra-right-wing partisans with no experience of living in Red-controlled lands? The first quote is from Svetlana Alliluyeva, Josef Stalin's daughter. The second is from Juanita Castro, Fidel's sister."—From the Indianapolis *Star*

□□□

POLISHING TEDDY'S IMAGE—Columnist Maxine Cheshire of the liberal Washington *Post* has uncovered a little-known Kennedy foundation that "does much to enhance Teddy's political image." The tax-exempt "Park Foundation," supposed to aid the "indigent, sick and infirm," is operated out of the New York offices of the family wheeler-dealer, Stephen Smith. Money distributed by the fund is designed to aid Kennedy family friends or build up Teddy as a patron of the arts, reporter Cheshire indicated.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The 'Silent Majority' Comes Into Focus

Are TV newsmen now swinging their cameras to the right?

By EDITH EFRON

Reprinted from the September 27, 1969 issue of TV Guide *Magazine with permission. Copyright 1969 by Triangle Publications, Inc.*

"The riots."

"Chicago."

They stick like giant burrs in the newsmen's minds—symbols of the clash between them and the majority of the public.

That clash has not yet been resolved. It still flares up at the slightest provocation and is a chronic issue at the networks, where top executives wait tensely for the day's mail and look back nostalgically at the days when five critical letters were a crisis.

The nature of the public's simmering anger is well understood.

CBS' Bill Leonard says: "The right and the middle complain that we put on irresponsible people from the left." ABC documentary producer Steve Fleischman, too, says: "People feel we've given too much play to the radicals." And NBC News President Rueven Frank says: "The general view of the public is that we have too many radicals in the network news departments."

The newsmen's awareness of the seriousness of this situation was brought to a peak by the "conservative" electoral results—"conservative" being the odd "new politics" label for an amorphous anti-radical coalition encompassing the spectrum from "Establishment Democrats" through the Nixon center to the far-right Wallace voters.

This active anti-radicalism of the majority has reoriented important aspects of the newsmen's professional thinking. As a result, something new is happening in programming. It is a development that will please many Americans and anger others.

What is happening results from a change in newsmen's thinking—so we'll start with that.

The most obvious change is the sudden emergence in strength of an attitude that has been commonplace among viewers for years. Namely, that there has been too much onesided attacking of the United States, its institutions and its citizens, on the airwaves. This opinion, once viewed as "flag waving" by many newsmen, today is enunciated as follows:

ABC's Lester Cooper: "I want to do a show on what's *right* with America. We've heard so much about what's wrong. I'm not a chauvinist, but I am a patriot. There's a *great* America out there to cover."

CBS' Bill Leonard, on an upcoming documentary: "It will capture the spirit of America. We'll be showing *strengths* as well as weaknesses. It's a wonderful country *and* it's absurd. You'll be laughing *and* crying. That's what the U.S. is all about."

NBC's Eliot Frankel: "One of the themes in "First Tuesday" is to show what's *right* with America, as well as what's wrong. There's a *lot* that's right. Decent people, leading decent lives, knocking themselves out for others. . . ."

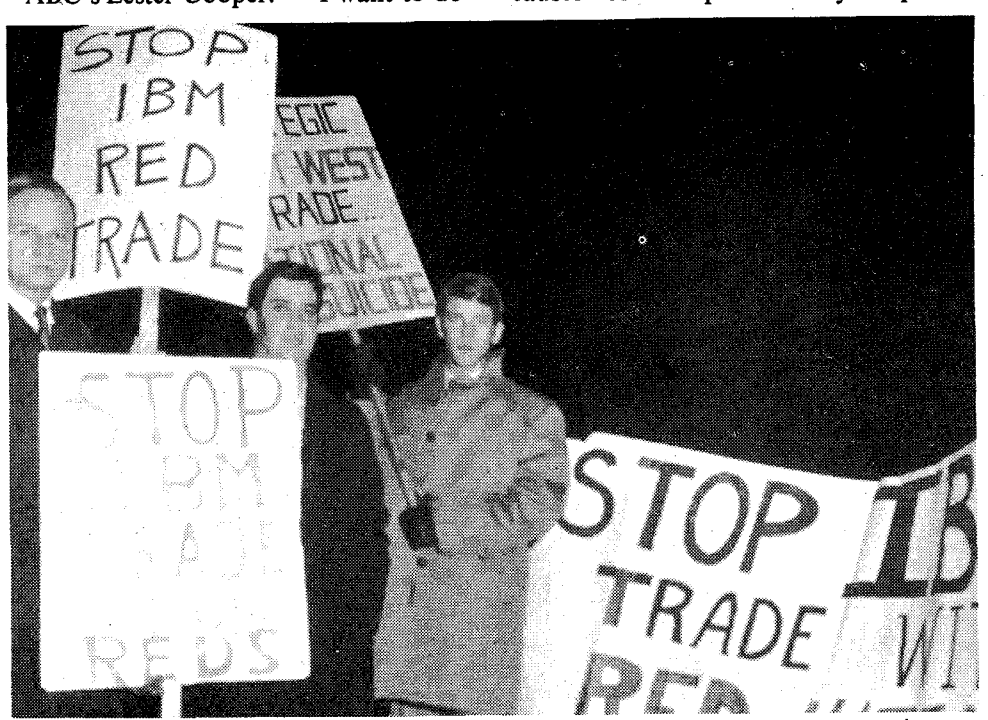
A good many men are also engaging in intensive soul-searching into the issue of biased reporting. NBC's documentary producer Shad Northshield says: "Bias is on everybody's mind. We've claimed we don't have it. And the viewers say, 'Yes, you do.' I was stunned by the public reaction to Chicago. We all were. I was stunned, astonished, *hurt*. It's the key thing that opened my eyes to the cleavage between newsmen and the majority. We didn't *know* 56 per cent would have thought we were unfair. It raises enormous questions about journalism."

One of the issues it raises for Northshield and others is a pronounced bias in favor of minority coverage in past network operations.

"In TV news departments," says Northshield, "we appear to know a lot about the black minority. It's the silent majority we must explore. We haven't done it. We didn't know it was *there*!"

CBS' Phil Lewis says: "We're beginning to realize we've ignored the majority. America doesn't end at the Hudson!" CBS News star Joseph Benti says: "We spend so much time on angry blacks, angry youth. But what about that vast forgotten army out there? How many hard-working, law-abiding whites are mad as hell because their story isn't being told?"

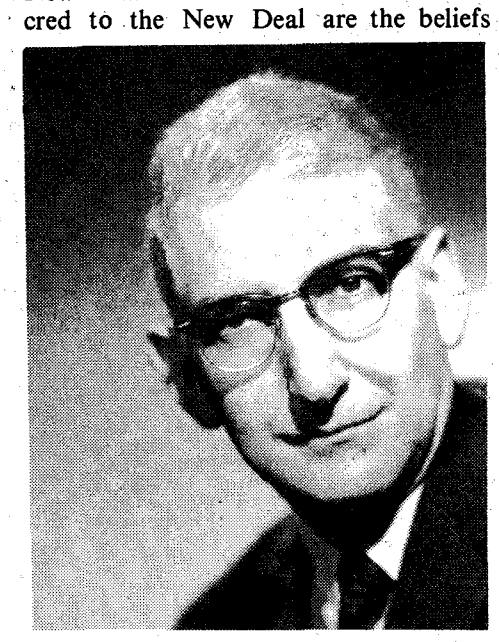
Other men have taken their analyses further, in an attempt to get at the causes of this pro-minority emphasis.



Patriotic demonstrations such as this protest against trade with the Communists may well receive greater coverage if the TV networks achieve more balance. The above was sponsored by Texas Young Americans for Freedom.

CBS' Desmond Smith is one of those who suspects that the newsmen have been politically used: "There's been a great deal of manipulation from the left. The left and SDS have been getting a great deal of play. Americans are getting to feel they're not getting the whole story."

Fred Freed of NBC goes further yet. He attributes the situation to the newsmen's own liberal ideology: "This generation of newsmen is a product of the New Deal. These beliefs that were sacred to the New Deal are the beliefs



NBC President Reuven Frank says, "The general view of the public is that we have too many radicals in the network news departments."

that news has grown on. This is true of the networks, of *Newsweek,* of the New York *Times,* of all media. Men of like mind are in the news. It's provincial.

"The blue-and white-collar people who are in revolt now do have cause for complaint against us. We've ignored their point of view. It's *bad*. It's bad to pretend they don't exist. We did this because we tend to be upper-middle-class liberals. We think the poor are 'better' than the middle class. We romanticize them. The best thing that happened to me was a month I spent walking in Detroit slums after the riots. I stopped romanticizing the poor.

"I've come to understand that it's really the same with all classes. You've got to sit down with the cop, with the little storekeeper, and get their views. They're human beings like everyone else. Their attitudes emerge logically from their interests and their values. They should be covered that way."

There are those in top managerial positions who don't pour out such confessions. CBS' Bill Leonard, for example, claims objectivity for CBS News, and declares vehemently: "We have *nothing* to apologize for, *nothing*—and I personally include our coverage of Chicago." But, in the course of several hours of conversation, Leonard relaxes and launches into an attack on "bad reporting"—which turns out to be a powerful disquistion on bias:

"Most reporting is *lousy*. It's lousy because people are lazy, because people don't think ahead, because they approach things in rote ways. We have these kinds of reporters here, unfortunately. The worst problem of all is the reporter who doesn't ask the next question—the *cheap, lousy* reporter who'll quote an attack but doesn't go to the other side, because the answer might kill his story. . . .And these producers who develop and edit a broadcast from the point of view of the way *they* want it to turn out—with their own prejudices showing. That happens quite often. . . . If we could get rid of those people we'd be a lot closer to our goal of objectivity."

And finally . . . there are those who are not theorizing about bias because they're too busy traveling back and forth between New York and Washington, coping with congressional investigations into their alleged practice of it. CBS News producer Jay McMullen says the following: "We're getting a lot of harassment. The congressional focus is on the news area. It has to do with this whole business of our coverage of the riots, of Chicago. Producers are being called down to Washington and asked to explain their news decisions."

With all of this ferment going on behind the scenes, what, precisely, is happening to news and public-affairs programming? The trends are exactly what you might guess: There is a shifting of coverage patterns at the polar ends of the usual spectrum covered by the networks. The basic coverage, which has a moderate-liberal orientation, will remain the same. But in network news there is a distinct deflation of the coverage of the radical-left and of radical-left causes, particularly those of a militant type.

Prime-time news, for example, which operates in a restricted time slot, is upping its coverage of the middle and lower-middle classes. CBS has inaugurated a polling service to be used in key controversial stories to check on nationwide opinion. Regular coverage of suburbia and lower-middle-class areas in the environs of New York City is being stepped up by CBS and NBC New York stations.

These trends are far more visible, however, in the documentary realm, where subjects are few and where the selective process is readily apparent.

Much of the vigorous planned activity for the season's opening lies in the area of "exploring middle- and lower-middle-class Americans." Various broad-gauge sketches of the nation are ready to go. Some may already have appeared before you read this.

At CBS: "A Day in the Life of the United States of America"; "The Making of the President: 1968"; two on "The Generation Gap.' At NBC: a two-and-a-half-hour "From Here to the Seventies"; "Election '69: What We Learned," and, on "First Tuesday," says producer Eliot Frankel, one of the themes will be "the malaise in middle-class life."

As for ABC, there is a veritable outbreak of Americana—with a list of shows up for sale to sponsors with names like: "The American Dream," "Hemingway's Idaho," "Small Town Judge," "A Country Preacher," "American Farmer," "Forest Ranger," "The Marines" and "Sousa Sound"—14 or 15 of such projected shows, as compared to eight last year. According to documentary vice president Tom Wolf, this reflects the thinking of sponsors, who themselves are responding to "the

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shift of climate in this country, the new attitudes of viewers."

By contrast to this ferment of activity on the majority front, "problem coverage"—the kind that increasingly requires the inclusion of radical opinion, white and black—is in decline.

The same number of documentary hours is scheduled as last year—a significant proportion of them, however, now packed into two "magazine" formats at CBS and NBC, which, of necessity, have acquired a lighter, "variety" approach to coverage. The number of straight, hour-length documentaries has shrunk and with it has come a diminution of "hard" problem coverage.

Why is this happening? Because of political pressure—defined in its broadest sense, from Congress down to the smallest grass-roots hamlet. "The tendency, when Congress harasses, is for individual producers to pull in their horns. I think this whole congressional thing might be affecting the documentary operation." ABC's Steve Fleischman, too, says: "The medium is generally frightened of the documentary realm."

The three network presidents are on record with strong statements that, for the past year or so—ever since some of the public started to blast away at the networks' featuring of radicals and radical issues—congressional pressures have been threatening the medium's 1st Amendment rights.

On the national grass-roots level, which underlies congressional pressure, there is evidence that resistance is building up to coverage of the radicals and radical issues at local broadcasting stations—for whom network news and documentary production is destined. A nationwide survey conducted by *Television Age* indicates that programs on these issues are declining. "It may indicate," says *Television Age*, "that the public has been satiated with studies of . . . urban crises . . . racial tensions . . . dope addiction and poverty."

There are many students of the broadcasting world who believe that the networks, always fear-ridden in the realm of politico-economic coverage, can scarcely afford to become more so. ("We never did have more than four or five tough documentaries a year," concedes CBS' Bill Leonard, "and at that we had more than the other networks put together.")

Protests are now surfacing from the left side of the political spectrum—from liberals, radicals and militant blacks who are beginning to charge that the news departments are going "conservative."

One prominent TV journalist describes the trend as "the Nixonization of the airwaves." *Variety*, the industry's trade paper, accused the networks of cutting back on "hard" issues. And FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson charged broadcasters with squeezing out radical thought and of censoring news of capitalist-caused "death, disease, dismemberment and degradation."

Some TV newsmen, too, view the trends in the news departments as "conservative." Says Steve Fleischman, who describes himself as "ABC's kept radical": "Television is reflecting the national trend. There's a conservative, know-nothing stream in this country. And there's a liberal-progressive-radical stream. And there's a great body of people in the middle. The majority of newsmen are in that middle group. Today, that middle group is swinging back to conservatism. It's all part of the white backlash."

Needless to say, many other newsmen actively repudiate the *Variety*-Johnson-Fleischman criticism.

CBS' Salant has already hurled an answer to Johnson into print (*TV Guide*, September 20) in which he presents a long list of anti-corporation stories aired by CBS; and, in answer to the charge that there is not enough "death, disease, dismemberment and degradation" on the air, says: "Let [the commissioner] drop into my office some time and see the viewers' mail that comes across my desk complaining that that is all we ever talk about."

And others too grow angry at being described as creatures of a reactionary "establishment."

Snaps Lester Cooper of ABC: "Such criticisms are made by self-conscious, self-righteous, guilt-ridden people who feel the only way they can say something is by attacking." NBC's Shad Northshield raps out: "Doctrinaire, dogmatic opinion!" And NBC's Reuven Frank groans, "Oh, it's so tendentious. Those people want *so* to be 'in.' The next thing you know, Nick Johnson will be wearing Pucci pants!"

What really seems to be happening is this: "Public-interest" programming—and, most of all, documentary programming—is adjusting itself in a jerky, impulsive, yet fear-ridden way to the massive pressure of middle-class opinion, while straining to attain a journalistic perspective. By virtue of this trend, coverage of militant-radical groups will not be eliminated, but it is decreasing. As a corollary, the view of America as one vast abscess is now being corrected.

□□□

YOU FIRST, HENRY—"Rep. Henry Reuss (D.-Wis.) is leading a congressional effort to force the Nixon Administration to revive voluntary wage-price guideposts. 'If we are to avoid slack in the economy and higher unemployment,' Reuss says, 'it is obvious that wage increases must become smaller than what we have been seeing this year quite generally, and particularly in construction.' Reuss might better have said 'particularly in Congress.' For he and his colleagues gave the wage-price spiral a fast spin early this year by allowing themselves to be given a 41 per cent increase in salaries. If Congress does want to have the voluntary wage-price guidepost program reinstituted, it should demonstrate its sincerity and set a splendid example by first rolling back those outsized salary increases it gave itself"—From the Milwaukee *Sentinel*

Soviets Use ILO to Attack Greek Government

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Greek Prime Minister George Papadopoulos is feeling a new and undercover pressure while pro-Soviet propagandists here and abroad whoop it up for the fall of this NATO-member government.

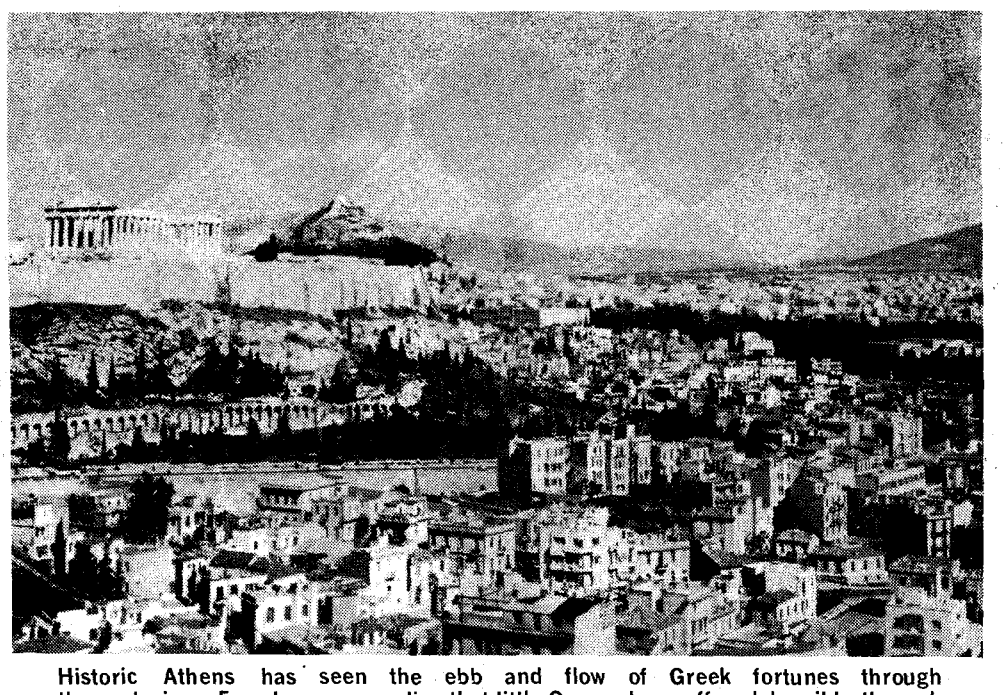
Behind the scenes, and with Moscow's usual hidden force and total cynicism, the tool is the International Labor Organization (ILO) in Geneva, Switzerland.

Our United States taxpayers are overwhelmingly the ILO's largest supporters. But, although the ILO has an American director-general, the Communist countries have all but taken it over. And the ILO's dangerous anti-American, anti-NATO attack involves Red-bending the 400,000-member General Confederation of Greek Labor (GSEE).

It is spearheaded by United Arab Federation of Labor delegate Ahmen Fahim, who is actually a chief in President Gamal Abdel Nasser's secret police. The stooge Bulgarian, Hungarian and Polish delegates are also part of this wily coercer's spearhead—front men for the USSR.

Greece is today the only Balkan nation outside the Iron Curtain. But the people know the Reds well. Greece lived longer under the Nazi invasion and occupation than any of our NATO allies. Yet in all those long, horrible years her casualties did not equal the incredible 250,000 Greek men and women killed during the Communists' two subsequent attempts to take over Greece.

Few realize it, but Greek Prime Minister Papadopoulos' country is almost completely surrounded by Communist-controlled nations.



Historic Athens has seen the ebb and flow of Greek fortunes through the centuries. Few, however, realize that little Greece has suffered horribly through World War II and the Cold War.

Hardly realized by our public, every mile of this lovely land's 300-mile northern frontier borders on a Communist country. Left to right, these are: Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria—all Red and all ready. Greece dangles like a plum under them.

I have spent long periods in Greece and have always liked the Greeks—the people, their colorfulness, their history, their bravery. You find the true Greece in the hinterlands. There, most peasants still measure time by the ancient ruins and in donkey-hours of travel. There, the word for a friendly American translates as "guest" and you encounter at once the peasants' simple delight in doing anyone a service.

I was in Greece during each of the two Red take-over attacks after the war and again during the third attempt in April 1967. From Salonika in northern Greece, the country's second largest city, I moved that April the entire distance along the three Red borders.

The conveniently mountainous terrain made (and still makes) guerrilla infiltration ideal. I saw the infiltrations grow and widen as infiltrations did by the Red North Vietnamese against South Viet Nam. It seemed apparent that someone had to act or Greece was on the verge of being another South Viet Nam or a Castro's Cuba.

It seemed equally apparent that at least four nationwide resentments, justified and boiling over in the hinterlands, opened the way for Communist *Putsch* No. 3: (1) the government corruption; (2) the size and venality of the bureaucracy; (3) the callous exploitation of government-sold public service franchises; and (4) the endless do-nothingness of the parliament.

The April 21, 1967, military *Putsch* resulting in today's government was an anti-Communist *Putsch* totally dictatorial, as was the Red *Putsch* itself, and largely remains so. But America's interest, not Russia's, is served. Greece is our country's NATO partner and it fully supports NATO—and our foreign policies as a whole—whereas the Red attackers publicly swore to withdraw Greece from NATO and remain as anti-American as Castro himself, or Hanoi.

Accordingly, under the surface and hidden from our public's view, the new attack through the big General Confederation of Greek Labor is violently anti-American, anti-NATO, anti-Western, anti-defense and pro-Communist, pro-Soviet.

In Greece all labor union leaders must be employed in the industry they represent for at least 100 days a year to qualify for their union leadership. A union can call a strike for only three days without the voted approval of its rank-and-file members.

Compared to ours, Greece's labor union laws are restrictive. But compared to Soviet and satellite labor laws, Greece's are so liberal that it is totally cynical and preposterous for the Communists to condemn them. Handsome is as handsome does, even if this truism means absolutely nothing to Red propagandists.

The Soviet newly threatens the free world in the Mediterranean. We need an ally, not an enemy, in Greece. And we need a stronger voice at the ILO in Greece. For the disgrace to us in this powerful and dangerous anti-Western attack is that we have allowed the ILO to keep it under cover.

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Has the SDS Gone Berserk?

By PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

"Jailbreak! Jailbreak!"

High school students across the nation can soon expect to hear this shout as members of Students for a Democratic Society race through the halls urging students to leave classes and school. Although classes have just begun, the SDSers have already struck at a number of high schools. The results may not have been what SDS expected, but the tactic is now part and parcel of the new adventurist approach being practiced by at least one major faction within the SDS organization.

As a result of last summer's national convention, SDS is riddled with angry factions, each vying to claim the title of being the "only real and factual" SDS organization.

Readers of *Human Events* will recall that at this SDS convention the delegates voted to throw out the members of the Progressive Labor party and their adjunct, the Worker/Student Alliance (W/SA). This decision to oust the Progressive Labor party adherents has led to the formation of two SDS oganizations, each of which claims to be the "real" SDS.

This political break was forced because the SDS leaders in the national office feared (correctly) that the pro-Chinese Communist Progressive Labor party was about to physically take over the national SDS structure.

In a classic power play the national office, under the leadership of *enfant terrible* Mark Rudd of Columbia infamy, and Bernadine Dorhn, the past interorganizational secretary, staged a walkout from the convention and then summarily read out of SDS the Progressive Labor party that apparently controlled a majority of the votes at the convention. No sooner had Progressive Labor and the W/SA been expelled than they proclaimed themselves as the real national SDS.

As things now stand, both the national office of SDS, under the firm control of Rudd and Co., and the Progressive Labor party in Boston claim the SDS as their own private political game preserve. Both groups print copies of the SDS newspaper, *New Left Notes,* and each group is on the warpath against the other group.

The Progressive Labor people were banned from attending the Oakland rally held by the Black Panthers and the SDS national office group. This rally, held in August of this past summer (see *Human Events*, Aug. 23, 1969), was an attempt to set up a broad coalition of forces to fight "fascism" in the United States. Not only were the PLP people excluded from the meetings, but Rudd led an attack on a group of them outside of the hall in which a number of people were beaten up. PLP retaliated and Rudd himself suffered a good punch in the face.

The battle between the SDS national office staff and Progressive Labor then carried over to the college campuses.

The Rudd faction attempted to hold an organizational meeting at New York University in early September. The PLP people tried to beat down the door to the meeting room with a couch from the student center and the SDS people responded with their fists.

The continuing schism between Progressive Labor and the national office of SDS is continuing into the fall on a number of campuses in this country. But added to the split between PLP and the national office is a growing rift within the national office group itself.

The main national office faction is officially called the Weatherman* faction. Its leading internal opponent at the moment is a group that calls itself the Revolutionary Youth Movement II. The battle between these SDS factions has grown to violent proportions.

The real difference between the groups is tactical: The Weatherman faction, led by Rudd, is violent and often politically crazy; the RYM-II faction is after the same goals as the Weatherman, but opposes unprovoked acts of violence and destruction.

SDS may have its problems, but they haven't kept the youthful rebels from taking over the steps of University Hall, Harvard's administration building. SDS' militancy also showed itself when Chicago was treated last week to a rampage in the city's North Side.

In case anyone questions the use of my term "politically crazy" to designate the actions of the Weatherman faction within SDS, allow me to give a few examples of recent forages by this group.

Weatherman has been calling upon students to join them in Chicago and just last week some 300 anti-war protestors left an SDS rally there and went rampaging through the city.

What Weatherman has in mind includes the setting up of street gangs (to be called a "red army") and the engaging in direct physical battles with the police and so-called "right-wing workers." Through such confrontations, Weatherman insists that sharp polarities will occur and the revolutionary force built. When the RYM-II group opposed such violent acts, the Weatherman called them "running dogs."

Weatherman is already engaged in more than simple revolutionary rhetoric:

• A few weeks ago in Detroit, for instance, some female members of Weatherman called the "Motor City Nine" attacked a group of students. The Weatherman types marched into a college classroom, forced the students to hear their opinions on the issues of the day and used karate on the people that tried to leave.

• On September 4, in Pittsburgh, about 75 females from Weatherman raced through a high school shouting "jailbreak." Before going to the school, about 20 Weatherman women held six people "hostage" in the offices of the *American Friends Service Committee* when a worker from that committee refused to allow the SDS members to mimeograph a leaflet about the high school action.

The field secretary from the Quaker group felt that the action against her office was not especially strange, "considering what I read about the Weatherman group. What was strange was that I was dealt with so gently. I hear they use karate on other people."

One AFSC worker was bodily removed to a spot in the office where she could not get to a window or a telephone. The Weatherman intruders sat her on the floor. "Six women stood guard over me," she said. "They kept their hands on me until it was clear I would not get free." The worker stated that if she "shifted position, they put their hands on my head and shoulders."

The Weatherman women told this worker that "We thought until now you were on our side. Now we know you are a member of the enemy." She was told that there are only two sides—either with Weatherman or against them.

• The September 18 issue of the Boston *Herald Traveler* reports that "While 26 members of a senior class watched helplessly, a 57-year-old Girls Latin School teacher was held captive yesterday in her classroom in a brief takeover by organizers for Students for a Democratic Society."

According to the newspaper, one girl grabbed Miss Mannix by the wrists and held her captive, another covered the telephone so no one could call the office and two others blocked the classroom exits. A fifth member distributed pamphlets to the class and gave a short lecture on the overthrow of the government and revolution against the school system.

• At Harvard University Weatherman invaded the Harvard Center for International Affairs, beat up some staff members, defaced the walls and destroyed other private property before quickly scurrying out of the building to avoid having to face police action.

• At Erasmus Hall High School in Brooklyn, New York, the Weatherman gangsters seized two teachers, bound and gagged them in the classroom, and proceeded to mouth revolutionary and anti-war slogans to the students.

Weatherman leader Mark Rudd, speaking recently at the City College of New York, advocated closing schools and government bureaus "in whatever manner is necessary." There is "nothing too strong," he added, noting it was "good to be violent against the pigs"—which, in this case, he identified as bureaucrats, members of the Establishment, policemen and "even the working men who are drafted and fighting in Viet Nam."

Rudd sported a welt under one eye that he claimed he received from one of the rival SDS groups in another city. He then stated this political gem: "We sometimes beat them up and they beat us up. What we usually do is beat them up when we find them, but we can't do that here."

The Weatherman faction has been accused of being "adventuristic" by their rivals. Bill Ayers, the SDS "educational secretary," replied to this charge as follows:

". . . If it is a worldwide struggle, if Weatherman is correct in that basic thing, that the basic struggle in the world today is the struggle of the oppressed peoples against U.S. imperialism, then it is the case that nothing we could do in the mother country could be adventuristic. Nothing we could do because there is a war going on already, and the terms of that war are set."

If the actions of Weatherman do not constitute political insanity, then words have lost all meaning.

Even the extreme left-wing press has recently become worried about the antics of Weatherman and the infighting that is racking SDS. An editorial in the *Guardian,* Sept. 27, 1969, states: "By any standard SDS is in great trouble. Pessimists wonder whether the organization will survive the winter. Optimists at this stage give it six months longer."

The *Guardian* editorial may be optimistic in its belief that SDS is floundering on the political rocks. Still, there is good reason to believe that the national organization is in serious trouble. Factionalism appears to be replacing what unity the left-wing student movement once had and this can only be cheered by the opponents of New Left terrorism and gangsterism.

Before we bury SDS, however, there is a real need to fear the current outbreak of calculated hit-and-run violence being practiced by the Weatherman group.

The recent attacks on high schools make it clear that SDS is attempting to both recruit younger and younger members and to disrupt the operations of high schools.

The overt guerrilla attacks on college campuses may also herald the beginning of a new tactic on the part of SDS. The leadership may have decided to avoid the prolonged takeovers of administrative buildings that have plagued campuses in the past few years. Instead of moving into a building and holding it until the police arrive, the SDS leaders may now have planned to launch lightning attacks against a building and then immediately withdraw after they have destroyed property.

All in all, the recent actions on the part of SDS give no hint of a peaceful year in our schools. The procedure may differ from last year, but the violence is increasing. The overt acts of SDS are rapidly deteriorating into seemingly incoherent violence, much as the Nazi street gangs operated prior to the Hitler takeover. All of this bodes ill for the American people and for students interested in gaining an education.

*Weatherman takes its name from a Bob Dylan song that goes: "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows."

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White House Nips Move to Lift Travel Ban

By WILLARD EDWARDS

White House intervention at the 11th hour stopped the State Department on September 19 from delivering a propaganda victory to the Communist rulers of North Viet Nam, North Korea, China and Cuba.

All current restrictions on travel by American citizens to the four hostile lands would have been lifted on September 19 under a memorandum drafted for Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

Preparations for this announcement had reached the stage of a draft press release, explaining the decision, and a confidential memorandum anticipating questions from newsmen and providing the answers.

Rogers decided to hold up a decision for six months, after discovery by the White House that the federal intelligence agencies—the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, and military intelligence—had not been consulted.

Holdover officials from the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, among them Frederick Smith Jr., deputy administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, were reportedly responsible for the pressure on Rogers to relax the present travel ban now attached to the issuance of American passports.

They argued that the restrictions were "unenforceable . . . anachronistic" and that their removal would "signal a policy of permitting United States citizens to exercise their constitutionally protected liberty to travel, travel which, as our experience in Eastern Europe and elsewhere has demonstrated, serves our national interest in an important way."

Opposition to the proposal was led by Frances Knight, director of the Passport Office, and William B. Macomber, assistant secretary for Congressional Relations, recently promoted to be undersecretary for Administration.

The move seemed to ignore damaging repercussions to foreign policy, opponents noted. The American Embassy in Saigon protested that the South Vietnamese would be bewildered and aghast at elimination of restrictions on travel into North Viet Nam, regarding it as "a total change in attitude."

A few liberal congressmen might be delighted, Macomber reported, but the vast majority in the Senate and House would regard such a relaxation as a significant departure from the present policy of isolating Fidel Castro in Cuba, economically and politically. A gleeful Castro would exploit its propaganda advantages.

Worldwide, the new policy would be greeted as the unilateral surrender of a bargaining point in negotiations with Communist countries for which no quid pro quo was demanded. Red propagandists would have a field day and be bolstered in their conviction that the United States was softening; that a continued stand-pat policy would bring on a complete decay of the American position.

It was not these potent arguments that prevailed, however; it was Miss Knight's insistence that the security agencies be consulted for their opinions. The State Department initially indicated it had made such a check. White House calls to the FBI, the CIA and the Pentagon revealed that these agencies were unaware of the impending decision. The six-month delay was then ordered.

Are the holdover officials in the State Department, some of whom privately label Nixon "the one-term President," deliberately trying to trap him into actions designed to limit his stay in office? That possibility has been discussed in high circles.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

Double Standard in Libel

By ALICE WIDENER

At long last, in Athens, Ohio, a pair of outstanding American citizens have risen up to defend themselves against unfounded leftist radicals' name-calling, the kind of smear writing that fills campus newspapers and underground papers with vilest allegations against responsible citizens.

Municipal Judge Franklin Sheeter and Police Capt. Charles Cochran of Athens are charging that Barbara S. Troy of Mount Vernon, N.Y., a former college campus editor, was guilty of criminal libel when she passed out to Ohio University students a mimeographed flyer charging that Judge Sheeter and Capt. Cochran comprised a "thug-racist" power structure.

The state of Ohio has a seldom-used, seldom-tested statute giving it the right to bring charges of criminal libel. *Editor & Publisher,* professional journal of the newspaper publishing business, explains, "Unlike most libel cases, which involve civil action, criminal [libel] action involves the state bringing criminal charges."

This ought to be a landmark case and clear up a lot of confusion in our nation over what is or isn't libel. For much too long, the whole matter of libel has been judged in a manner that protects leftist radicals and penalizes their opponents.

Any radical leftist has been able to call a conservative or rightist any vile name with absolute impunity—"fascist" or "fascist pig" or "fascist bigot" or "mother------." But no conservative or rightist can call a revolutionary radical a "Communist" unless it can be proved that the individual so named is indeed a member of the Communist party.

Years ago the Warren Court decided that the allegation an individual is a Communist is libel per se. But no one has decided that the allegation an individual is a "fascist" is libel per se. Therefore, revolutionary radicals have been free to vilify anti-Communists in any manner they choose.

With every fibre of my being, I myself am opposed to baseless name-calling and the making of an unfounded charge against anyone. But things have come to such a pass in our country that there is the ugliest kind of double standard in the matter of making unfounded charges and vilifying remarks. If a radical revolutionary does it, it's okay; if a law-abiding decent citizen, being goaded beyond endurance does it, it isn't okay.

I think Judge Sheeter and Police Capt. Cochran of Athens, Ohio, are entirely right in bringing a charge of criminal libel against an individual describing them in print as "thug-racist." Webster's dictionary defines a thug as "a brutal ruffian or assassin"; it defines a racist as "a person who believes that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capabilities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race."

Anyone who picks up a campus or underground newspaper today is likely to find in it the worst kind of vilification of decent citizens, of faculty members, civic officials, and even the President of the United States.

I believe the unjust appellation "fascist" or "bigot" is just as reprehensible and libelous as the unjust appellation "Communist." But a double standard in libel prevailed in the Warren Court. It's going to be mighty interesting to see how libel law develops in the Burger Court.

If the doctrine of libel in name-calling without proof is to be applied, then why shouldn't it apply to everyone?

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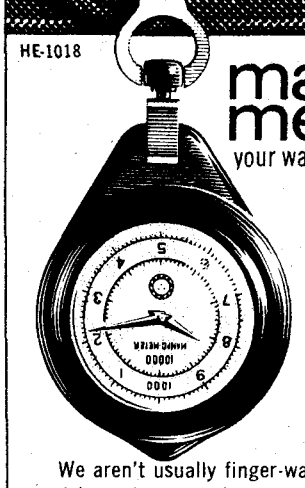

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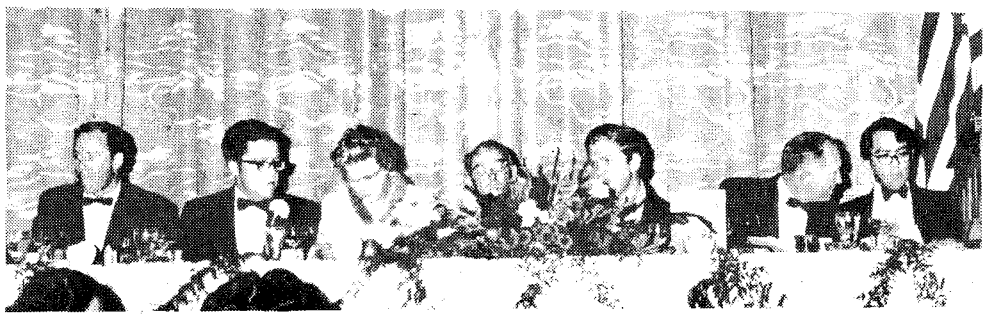
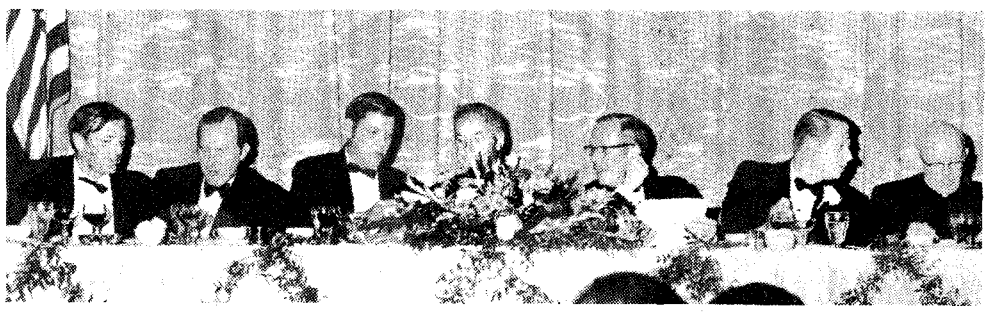


Seated at the head table are (above): ACU Executive Director John Jones, YAF Vice Chairman Michael Thompson, Mrs. and Rep. H. R. Gross, Human Events Publisher Robert D. Kephart, James J. Kilpatrick and ACU Secretary Robert Bauman. Below are: William F. Buckley Jr., Rep. John Ashbrook, Human Events Editor Thomas S. Winter, Sen. John Williams, National Review Publisher William A. Rusher, YAF Executive Director Randal Teague and The Rev. John F. Harvey, OSFS.



PHOTOS BY CHARLES ARNHOLD

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) is greeted by National Review Editor William F. Buckley Jr. at the reception preceding the Awards Dinner.

Among the invited guests were columnist Ralph de Toledano (front) and presidential speechwriter Patrick Buchanan.

Conservative Awards Dinner

More than 300 leaders of the American conservative movement turned out Saturday night, October 4, for the First Annual Conservative Awards Dinner at the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C. The dinner was sponsored by the American Conservative Union, *National Review*, Young Americans for Freedom and *Human Events*.

The highlight of the dinner was the presentation of awards for outstanding congressional service to Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) and Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa). The awards were bestowed by Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), chairman of the ACU, who reminded the guests of how thankful Americans should be for the valiant work Sen. Williams and Rep. Gross have each performed in Congress for more than 20 years.

Sen. Williams, first elected in 1946, is planning to retire next year upon the conclusion of his fourth term and many times during the evening he was urged to reconsider. But the Delaware senator who has sparked so many important congressional investigations remained firm in his resolve not to run again now that he has reached age 65. The guests were disappointed, but had to admire a man who insists upon standing by his principles even if it means giving up a job he enjoys.

Rep. Gross, a conservative known nationally for the sharp "no" he so often hurls at various spending schemes, received perhaps the biggest ovation of the night when he turned to the subject of Viet Nam. "We should win that war," he said, "or get the hell out."

The evening's keynote address was delivered by columnist James J. Kilpatrick. While noting that opposition to foolish government programs was certainly necessary, Mr. Kilpatrick also urged conservatives to "apply their talents to affirmative answers to American problems" —problems like conservation, pollution, penal reform and low-cost housing. Conservatives have the proper principles at heart, he said, but "if I had only one political wish, conservatively speaking, I would wish to see us translate broad conservative principles more frequently into specific, affirmative action." Mr. Kilpatrick applauded those men and women who for so many years have volunteered their services to the conservative cause. He said that more than ever before their dedication was needed, because "there is much work to be done."

Other remarks at the dinner were delivered by William F. Buckley Jr., editor of *National Review*, and Robert Bauman, secretary of ACU and a former national chairman of YAF, who served as master of ceremonies for the evening.

Among the members of Congress who attended and joined in honoring two of their congressional colleagues were Sen. Strom Thurmond and Reps. Don Clausen, Jim Collins, John Hammerschmidt, Manuel Lujan and William Scherle.

Guests from the White House staff included presidential adviser Dr. Arthur Burns, speechwriter Patrick Buchanan, Special Presidential Assistant Dr. Martin Anderson, congressional liaison man Bill Timmons, "inspector-general" Clark Mollenhoff and presidential staff aides Mort Allin and Tom Huston. Among the other Administration appointees in attendance were USIA Director Frank Shakespeare, Ted Humes of the Labor Department and Defense Department aides William Baroody Jr. and Jerry Friedheim. Other guests included John Mahan, chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board, and Ken Towsey of the Rhodesian Information Service.

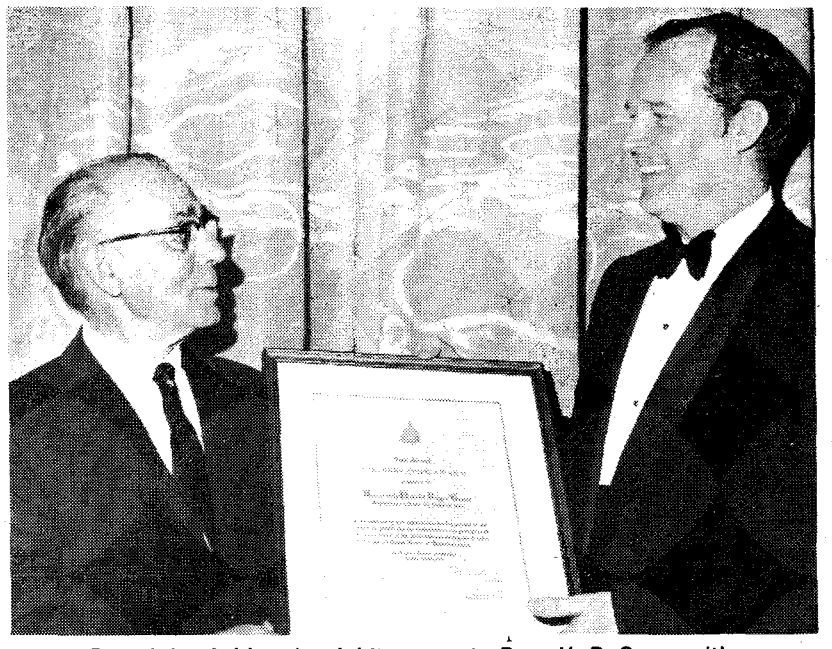
Also attending the dinner were such well-known conservatives as Holmes Alexander, Lemuel Boulware, Allan Brownfeld, Ralph de Toledano, Dr. Lev Dobriansky, Willard Edwards, Victor Lasky, Fulton Lewis III, Dean Clarence Manion, Neil McCaffrey, Stefan Possony, William A. Rusher, Phyllis Schlafly, George Schuyler, Paul Scott, Ken Thompson and Tom Van Sickle.

The sponsoring organizations hope that next year's dinner will be even better attended and that conservatives from all over the country will try to get to Washington to help honor two more members of Congress who, like Sen. Williams and Rep. Gross, have done so much to strengthen the conservative cause.

In his speech after receiving his Conservative Award, Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) remarked: "I never believed the duty of a man in public office was to do only that which was popular and would win him votes, whether it was good for his country or not. I think it necessary to take an unpopular stand from time to time and I have never hesitated to do so."

Among other invited guests were presidential "inspector-general" Clark Mollenhoff (right). . . .

. . . .and Rep. Don Clausen of California (left).



Rep. John Ashbrook (right) presents Rep. H. R. Gross with the First Annual Conservative Award in recognition of the Iowan's". . . dedication to the principles of the Constitution of the United States."

In his keynote speech, columnist James J. Kilpatrick wryly noted that despite all his advice, the Warren Court still went its own way.

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Politics from the Pulpit

More Comments on Church and State

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Get me right. I think it fine for a politico to pray and a minister—provided he's over 21 and can pass a literacy test—to vote.

But I don't like it when politics and the militant church merge into a conglomerate, and you can't tell whether you're at a religious service or a meeting of the SDS.

Till 1964, the Lord had been neutral in our elections. But that year, we were told, He spoke from the burning bush to some holy men. Whereupon, a noted Protestant minister called on his co-religionists to vote for LBJ over Barry; a Yale divine, back from a visit to India (sponsored by the State Department), boasted he had persuaded many college students there to pray for Barry's defeat; and a rabbi proclaimed from his pulpit, "A vote for Goldwater is a vote for Jewish suicide."

Many protested this break with our tradition of keeping church and state apart. But the burning bushmen got the fiery headlines, while their opponents got page 26, if that. So to the headline readers, it seemed as though our Judeo-Christian heritage was at stake.

The pious Hubert Humphrey, too, heard the call. In Ohio he wept for the state's sin in 1960, when Nixon won over JFK. But he promised that John Kennedy, "watching from heaven," would forgive them if they now repented and voted Democratic.

To me and the other 27 million heretics who voted for Barry, that campaign speech still ranks as the most shockingly vulgar and brazen utterance of our time. Elmer Gantry never even came close.

But whatever you think of such tactics, they worked. Barry was beaten and civilization saved. And the Lord and his angels—and the Indian students—breathed sighs of relief at the election returns.

Yet, shortly afterward, many of the faithful were denouncing LBJ as zealously as they had plumped for him. The Voice they heard, it seemed, had not been the Lord's after all.

But politics is a potent brew, and the headlines had given the ministers a touch of Potomac fever from which they never recovered. They still, apparently, hear voices.

Take the latest involvement of the militant Father James Groppi. Believing that Wisconsin welfare recipients are getting too little, he leads 2,000 of them (the ranks swelled by activist university students) to the state capitol. After breaking down a locked door, he ushers them into the assembly chamber and issues this communique: "We have captured the capitol building and don't intend to leave."

A sympathetic lawmaker comes in to hear Father Groppi's complaints, and says, "I've heard your story and assure you we'll do what we can. Now please leave so we can conduct our business."

The padre replies, "We've heard your story—and now please leave." And the students oust the legislator as unceremoniously as if he were a college president. Only after 10 hours—and the summoning of 1,000 National Guardsmen—do the demonstrators depart.

Now every federal and state resource has been tapped to meet the demands for welfare, and every legislator is at his wit's end to find additional funds. If the good priest had only performed a miracle like that of the loaves and fishes, the state would have been overjoyed. But, like our other demonstrators, Father Groppi just issues non-negotiable demands, and holds that meeting them is the state's function. And here he carefully observes the distinction between church and state.

The Rev. James D. Morask, head of the West Hollywood (Calif.) Baptist Church, is a totally different type of pastor. One Sunday some months ago he meticulously stepped down from his pulpit—an obeisance to tradition—to denounce the now famous Black Manifesto and warn he would vigorously prosecute any attempt to disrupt church services, "on the ground of our right to freedom of worship, granted by the Constitution."

He denounced the National Council of Churches for helping to fund militant groups and made his own philosophy clear:

"We will observe the separation of church and state. It is time to return to our calling as ministers, not politicians. I will use the voting booth, not the pulpit, for my political views."

Hear, hear! But note that the Hollywood pastor, who abides by the Constitution, got no national coverage, while the dissenting priest is known nationwide. And that's a sad moral.

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Inconsistencies Abound in U.S. Ban on Rhodesian Trade

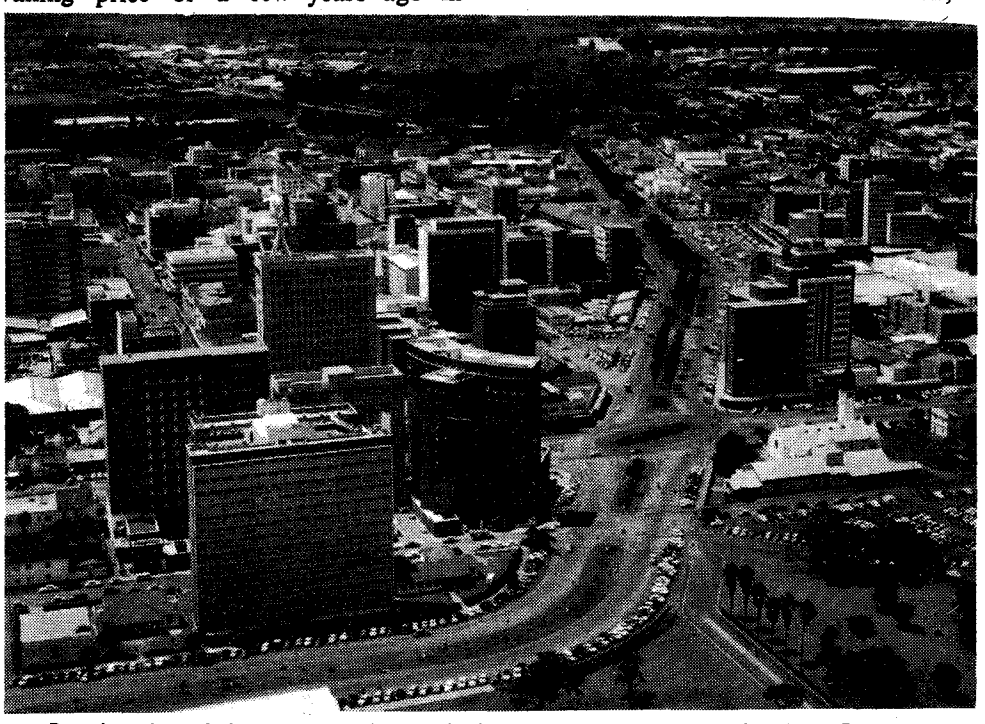
By REP. THOMAS PELLY (R.-Wash.)

The Department of State has informed me it would be inconsistent with our obligations under the United Nations Charter to begin trading with Southern Rhodesia because of the sanctions against that country into which we entered in the U.N. and which were promulgated by a presidential executive order on Jan. 5, 1967.

However, allow me to speak of "inconsistencies" of a related but separate nature; that is, those demonstrated by our Department of State with regard to Southern Rhodesia.

The United States today is purchasing chromite from the Soviet Union at $48.00 a ton as compared to the prevailing price of a few years ago in Southern Rhodesia of $31.35 a ton. Inconsistency No. 1. Why should we buy from the Soviet Union at an inflated price when we can buy from Southern Rhodesia at a lower price? The answer given by the Department of State, in addition to that of our sanctions, is that the Soviets produce a higher-grade chromite and the Rhodesian price probably is higher today.

Despite increased prices and a small differential in grade, how inconsistent can it be when you use American dollars to purchase from a country that is supplying upwards of 80 per cent of the military equipment being used in Viet Nam to kill American servicemen when, instead, the same product could be purchased from a country that has never been responsible for the death of one U.S. citizen?



Despite the obvious economic hardships imposed upon Ian Smith's Rhodesia through U.N. sanctions, the country has so far borne up well under the strain. Above, the capital, Salisbury.

The "stated" purpose of the sanctions is that they are designed to lead the Ian Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia to agree to a peaceful, negotiated settlement with the United Kingdom.

Inconsistency No. 2. We are taking the side of a nation whose flagships are carrying materials to North Viet Nam during the time of a tragic and trying conflict in that part of the world.

The "unstated" argument is over Southern Rhodesia's internal racial policies. This is not intended to condemn or condone the policy of the Smith government, but only to reach inconsistency No. 3: namely, we refuse to trade with Rhodesia while we trade with Russia which has exercised violent anti-Jewish policies as has been dramatically pointed out in Congress recently during the Jewish high holyday season.

If there is inconsistency it is in the State Department, not in what would happen if we revoked our participation in the United Nations' sanctions against Rhodesia.

We should remind ourselves it is the constitutional obligation of the House of Representatives to regulate trade. I fully realize that by the Import-Export Control Act, Congress delegated to the President the authority to regulate trade in the interest of national security, but it was never intended to promote international civil rights such as was done by President Johnson against Rhodesia. This act was intended to halt trade in strategic materials, [but] I see absolutely no way in which Rhodesia can be considered acting against our national security.

It is for these reasons . . . I have written President Nixon urging that he issue a new executive order revoking President Johnson's previous executive order declaring that further study indicates that it is not essential to our national defense to remain on the U.N.'s list of nations with sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. I have also introduced a Joint Resolution of Congress calling for the end of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

The inconsistencies of policy as exercised and stated by our State Department are inexcusable and sheer folly. It is no wonder our great nation has slipped in world opinion in recent years.

NAPA a Neat Set-Up

AID Funds Private Group Pushing AID Programs

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

God must love affluent people—there are so many of them. And if God doesn't love them, then the United States Treasury does.

Take the National Association of the Partners of the Alliance (NAPA), a non-profit organization set up to sell the virtues of the Alliance for Progress to the American people and to the world at large. If you believe in this Alliance for Progress, you can have no complaints.

But where does NAPA get the money for its propaganda? From the United States government. About 96 per cent of NAPA's funds come from the Agency for International Development. As of last May, that came to $886,000. In other words, the federal government was subsidizing a private organization to sell one of its programs to the American people.

That, however, is only the beginning. NAPA has other lovely ways. There are, for instance, two gentlemen, according to evidence placed in the *Congressional Record* by Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.), who each contributed to NAPA. This "gift" to a non-profit organization was tax deductible for them, which took a nice slice off their income tax.

To show its gratitude, NAPA thereupon bought each of these men a round-trip ticket to Brazil. Cost $771 per ticket. But NAPA's gratitude went even further than that. It allocated to each of these men $1,000 in expense money for their trip south of the border. NAPA, obviously, has finally come up with a way to eat your cake and have it too.

But this is only a small part of NAPA's beneficence. The president of the organization drew a salary of $30,321 as full-time officer. He also received $13,560 for "expenses." During this period, according to Sen. Williams (and NAPA as well), "most of his activities were as an official" of a department store in Texas.

Another employe of NAPA worked out an arrangement whereby he would receive part of his salary as a "supplementary payment of $250 per pay period —non-taxable. NAPA's accountant, however, worried about this. Should there be an IRS audit, the employe in question would be taxed for those "supplementary" payments, the accountant decided. Therefore, NAPA paid out $1,027 to Internal Revenue to cover the taxes that the man had not paid. In short, it gave him a bonus of more than a thousand dollars.

These are short tales in the endless primer, "How to Take Your Uncle Sam." Disclosure of the facts makes almost no stir in Washington. After all, there are billions there in the Treasury and when more are needed, taxes can be increased or the Federal Reserve Board can print more paper. In fact, ringing the bell on those who make a career of raiding the federal strong box has become a ho-hum occupation.

Men like Sen. Williams or Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa), who dig up the facts and then try to pass them on to the Congress, are considered "square" or slightly "teched," as they used to say. After all, if a million here or a million there slips into this man's pocket or that, it won't affect the fate of civilization.

Even the story of the multi-million-dollar hanky-panky in funds from service clubs and post exchanges in Germany had a hard time getting off the ground. The high-ranking officers who should have moved against the one-arm bandits and their two-arm sponsors tried to hush it up, and it took a great deal of prodding before Congress began to investigate.

These types will always be with us. But the new permissiveness has made their job much too easy, the penalties much too soft. But for the taxpayer, there is no permissiveness, no respite. The General Accounting Office says that roughly $30 billion is wasted every year by the federal government—or 15 per cent of the tax take—but there is no indignation on Capitol Hill and no picket signs in front of the White House. Maybe it's a new way of living.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Draft Reform

By REP. CATHERINE MAY (R.-Wash.)

If the Congress fails to act [on President Nixon's proposed legislation to revise the draft system] the President is considering instituting by executive order what he calls a "moving age group" system under which the "oldest" 19-year-old men would be selected each month by their draft boards. The plan would work this way: A prime selection group system would be established, consisting of 19-year-olds and of older men, such as students, whose deferments have expired. All young men would know by the end of their 19th year whether they would be required to do military service.

If a young man were selected, and he chose to go to college, then he could request a deferment in that year and he would do his service as soon as he left that college. Draftees would be selected in the order of the month and day of birth. Since the prime age group would change each month, this would avoid concentrating inductions on men born in particular months—such as the beginning of a calendar year.

Although the "moving age group" system would be a great improvement, it could not accomplish a true random selection because the oldest-first rule still must be followed each month in selecting men from the prime group. This is why the President has asked Congress to act on his request to remove the last remaining roadblock to a fully fair and equitable draft selection system.

Bomb Halt Effects

By REP. LAWRENCE HOGAN (R.-Md.)

Before my recent visit to Viet Nam, I did not really have an appreciation of the extremely difficult situation facing our troops. Under our present policies and restraints, there is absolutely no way we can win this war. . . .There was unanimity on the part of all the military commanders we met with that halting the bombing of key targets in North Viet Nam seriously hampered our ability to prosecute the war, and substantially increased the number of casualties among our troops. U.S. casualties during the 17 months of the bombing pause have accounted for 50 per cent of the total deaths since 1961. The bombing halt also weakened our negotiating position at the peace talks in Paris. The enemy has been able to better supply his troops in the field and rebuild his factories since the bombing stopped. Our air superiority is of little advantage in the Viet Nam war because there are few significant targets for our bombs, rockets and missiles in the jungle.

Food Stamp Vote

Following is the 54-to-40 rollcall vote by which the Senate on September 24 approved the food stamp bill sponsored by Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.). The measure would cost some $5 billion, would have little say as to who would receive the aid and would include non-edible goods such as brooms and deodorants. The bill was actually an amendment substituting for an Administration bill costing $3 billion less.

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 54

DEMOCRATS (38): Anderson, Bayh, Burdick, Byrd (W. Va.), Church, Cranston, Dodd, Eagleton, Fulbright, Gravel, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hollings, Inouye, Jackson, Kennedy, Mansfield, McCarthy, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Montoya, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Spong, Symington, Tydings, Williams (N.J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (16): Baker, Brooke, Case, Cook, Cooper, Goodell, Hatfield, Javits, Mathias, Packwood, Percy, Saxbe, Schweiker, Scott, Smith (Ill.) and Stevens.

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 40

DEMOCRATS (13): Allen, Bible, Byrd (Va.), Cannon, Ellender, Ervin, Holland, Jordan (N.C.), McClellan, Russell, Sparkman, Stennis and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (27): Aiken, Allott, Bellmon, Bennett, Boggs, Cotton, Curtis, Dole, Dominick, Fannin, Fong, Goldwater, Griffin, Gurney, Hansen, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Prouty, Smith (Me.), Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

Announced against: Long (D.).

Not voting: 5

House Anti-ABM Vote

Following are the names of those 93 congressmen who voted for an amendment to delete funds for the ABM system from the 1970 military appropriations bill before the House of Representatives on October 3. The final bill passed on a 311-to-44 rollcall vote.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 78

Adams
Addabbo
Anderson (Calif.)
Ashley
Barrett
Bingham
Blatnik
Boland
Brademas
Brasco
Burlison (Mo.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Carey
Chisholm
Clay
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daniels (N. J.)
Diggs
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edwards (Calif.)
Eilberg
Evans (Colo.)
Farbstein
Fascell
Ford, William
Fraser
Gaydos
Gilbert
Green (Pa.)
Hansen (Wash.)
Harrington
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler (W. Va.)
Helstoski
Hicks
Howard
Kastenmeier
Koch
Lowenstein
McCarthy
Macdonald (Mass.)
Madden
Matsunaga
Meeds
Mikva
Minish
Mink
Moorhead
Moss
Nix
Obey
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger
Podell
Rees
Reuss
Rodino
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Stokes
Thompson (N. J.)
Tiernan
Udall
Vanik
Waldie
Yates
Yatron

REPUBLICANS FOR: 15

Burton (Utah)
Button
Conte
Coughlin
Gude
Halpern
Heckler (Mass.)
Horton
McCloskey
Morse
O'Konski
Reid (N. Y.)
Riegle
Weicker
Whalen

ANSWERED 'PRESENT': 2

Leggett
Wolff

NOT VOTING: 66

VOTING AGAINST: 270

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• The Administration's proposed program for **consolidation of federal money grants to the states** is finally getting some action on Capitol Hill. The House Government Operations Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations has concluded hearings on the House version of the proposal (HR 10954), and will shortly pass the bill along to the full committee. Meanwhile, a Senate Government Operations subcommittee is continuing hearings on an identical bill (S 2035), officially labeled the Grant Consolidation Act of 1969.

• Social Security is back in its familiar role of being a political football. Most of the 25 million Americans receiving Social Security payments today are of voting age, and Congress usually manages to hike their benefits with much fanfare in an election year. This year, however, President Nixon beat the legislature to the punch by unexpectedly requesting **a 10 per cent increase in Social Security benefits** and proposing that, in the future, benefits be automatically adjusted according to increases in the cost of living. Democratic congressional leaders, not at all happy with this proposed usurpation of legislative authority, put the damper on any automatic increase talk and instead recommended not 10 but a 15 per cent benefit rate increase. Not only that, but the Democratic leaders have no desire to break with tradition and will likely put off any benefit hike action until next year—that is, an election year.

• The House has passed its version of the **military procurement authorization** bill (HR 14000), which includes funds for the development of the anti-ballistic missile system (ABM), but it is different in one important aspect from the Senate procurement bill. The House measure contains an extra $1 billion for the Navy to build new ships, an addition tacked on at the insistence of Rep. Mendel Rivers (D.-S.C.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. Rivers represents the South Carolina district that includes Charleston, a major naval port on the East Coast. A House-Senate conference must now decide what to do about Rivers' billion-dollar boondoggle.

• It is up to the House to put some sense back into the Senate-passed, fairy-land **food stamp program.** The Senate, at the urging of presidency-minded Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.), overturned the recommendation of its own Agriculture Committee and added $2 billion to the program, even though Agriculture Secretary Clifford Hardin said his department cannot administer such a huge program efficiently. Moreover, the Senate removed all restrictions on recipients' qualifications, saying only that a person must sign an affadavit that he is qualified to receive food stamps, and also lifted the provision that the stamps can be used only for food. Under the Senate's liberalized version, a stamp recipient can now buy items relating to hygiene, including brooms, mops, deodorants, shampoos and the like. The House has its work cut out for it.

• President Nixon has added his voice to those urging approval of the House-passed **electoral reform bill** (H.J. Res. 681) which proposes a constitutional amendment abolishing the electoral college and substituting direct election of the President and vice president. Nixon had originally backed the so-called district plan of electoral reform, but is now urging the Senate to approve the House measure "with all necessary speed."

• The House Armed Services Special Subcommittee on the Draft has begun hearings on President Nixon's request for authority to **inaugurate a draft lottery system** (HR 14001). Congressional action is needed to repeal a provision in the 1967 draft law which prohibits the President from instituting a draft system based on random selection, thereby restoring full authority over the draft at the White House. Nixon's plan would select eligible 19-year-olds through a completely random lottery system.

• A House Judiciary subcommittee is now holding hearings on Administration bills aimed at controlling the unsolicited **mailing of obscene material** to American citizens (HR 11031, HR 11032). Specifically, the measures would prohibit the mailing of obscene materials, or advertisements for such materials, to minors, and ban the mailing of advertisements appealing to "a prurient interest in sex" to anyone. Testimony thus far has dealt with the constitutional questions regarding infringements on freedom of speech, with Administration spokesmen contending that 1st Amendment guarantees would not be violated with the bills' passage.

• The Administration's **revenue-sharing plan** (S 2948) has been referred to the Senate Finance Committee, but no hearings have yet been held. As outlined by President Nixon last August, this proposal would turn back to the states $500 million in its first year of operation and about $5 billion by fiscal 1976. These funds would be distributed according to each state's share of the national population, with a "pass-through" provision assuring that each city and county would receive funds in proportion to its tax effort within the state. A similar bill (S 2483) has been introduced in the Senate by Edmund Muskie (D.-Maine) and Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.), except that the funds returning to the states would be far more than the Administration considered feasible. The Muskie-Goodell measure is being examined by the Senate Government Operations Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations.

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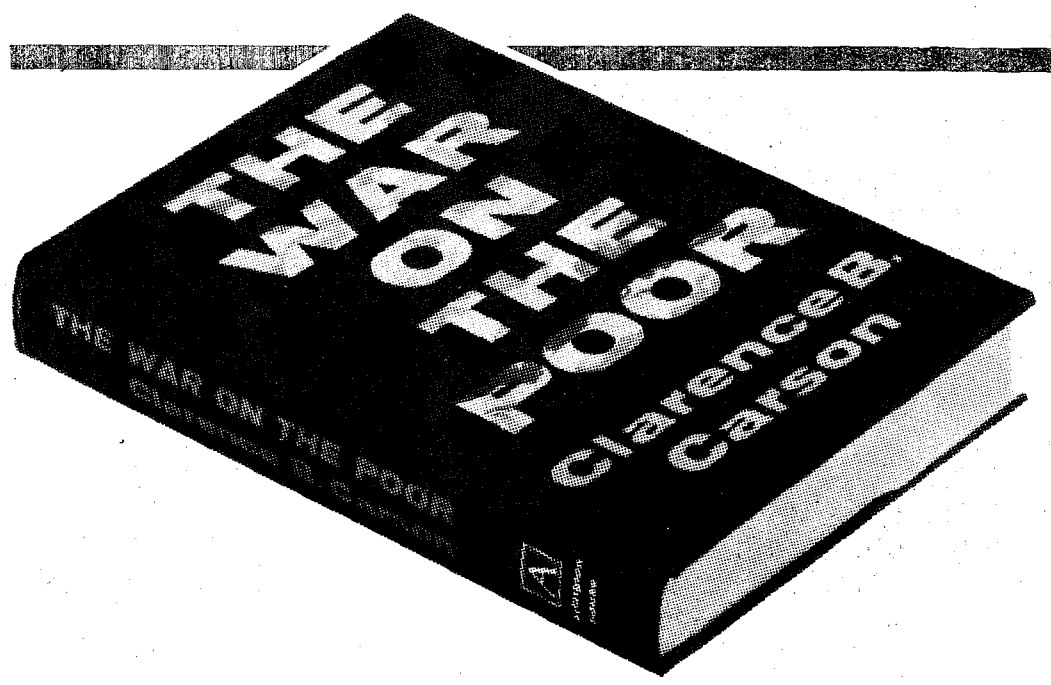

Why it takes more than a bleeding heart to conquer poverty. *In fact, the bleeding hearts do more to create it!*

THE WAR ON THE POOR

by Clarence Carson

A Selection of The Conservative Book Club

For men with a heart . . . for men with a head . . . for men who dare to confront a bold, original idea, this new mind-opening book challenges a hundred years of welfare legislation — and offers something better in its place!

A Liberal professor of our acquaintance from Boston, in one of his more impassioned moments, once denounced conservatives as "people who hate the poor." With a genuine concern for poor people that demolishes this Leftist canard, Clarence Carson demonstrates that if people are to be judged by their actions, it is the welfare-staters who, for all their "compassion," have nothing for the poor except another handout — which deepens their poverty.

Here is a book by a brilliant economist which explodes the myth, once and for all, that "conservatives are always negative." Not only does Dr. Carson expose the government anti-poverty program as a failure and a fraud, he advances a positive program that can really help every poor person who *wants* to be helped.

A Bold New Approach

Carson shows that the War on Poverty is really a war on the poor. Not just Lyndon's misnamed, misbegotten Office of Economic Opportunity. He's talking about all the laws over the past century that aim to help the poor.

That LBJ chose to sketch out his proposal in the terminology of warfare may have been more than a figure of speech. "Even metaphors," writes the author, "have a way of containing unsuspected truth . . . It is the nature of government to use force. A large-scale use of force has been mounted in the War on Poverty. Taxes are levied, numerous agents of government sent into the field, laws enacted and force applied."

Carson ticks off the ways that the brunt of the War on Poverty actually falls on the poor themselves:

- The poor pay taxes too — often more taxes in relation to income than the rich.
- Government red tape discourages enterprise — and the poor suffer.
- High taxes soak up the investment capital that alone can make jobs for the poor.
- Government spending sends prices soaring — but who feels the extra quarter for a loaf of bread more keenly, Chuck Percy or his babysitter?

Government Intervention Breeds Unemployment

Worse, these interventions send out all sorts of false economic signals. Lured by these, the poor invest the only capital they possess — their time and energy — in unproductive enterprises. It is the poor, rather than the giant corporation with its bevies of experts, who are least able to thread their way through the maze of government regulations, codes, tax laws, etc. In consequence, the poor are everywhere blocked in their efforts to escape poverty. *That is why they sometimes carry their frustrations into the streets.*

Carson marshals many an example to prove his startling case. One throws new light on the farm crisis of the late 19th century. Carson's research may surprise you: this crisis was caused in part by the well-intentioned Homestead Act, which gave free land in the West to anyone who promised to farm it for the required number of years.

Thousands of poor families swarmed from the East into the sparsely populated West to take advantage of the government's largesse. To buy equipment and seed to get started, these families went deeply into debt. Before long, the increased number of farmers swelled food production, and prices dropped sharply. Many farmers went bankrupt, and Carson shows how they pulled down other farmers with them. Once again, the do-gooders had failed to do good.

Labor Unions Make War On The Poor

From the New Deal onward, the government has showered its favors on big unions. Conservatives have always deplored this favoritism. Now Clarence Carson goes beyond the conventional wisdom to challenge assumptions that nearly everyone takes for granted. He shows:

- that unions pit working man against working man;
- that unions breed violence;
- that unions are not only unnecessary, but actually hurt the working man;
- that unions lower the standard of living.

The Double Challenge

In a fast-moving final section, "Reconstruction: The Hope of the Poor," Carson delineates the only way open to humane and rational men. With this book, defenders of the free market can quit apologizing and move onto the offensive. For there is a double challenge here . . .

To the Left: if you really care about the poor, will you dare to put freedom's program to work?

To conservatives: if we really care about the poor, shouldn't we make Dr. Carson's ideas part of every conservative's thinking — and part of every conservative action program?

Risk-Free Examination

May we send you a copy of *The War On The Poor* for risk-free inspection? If not pleased, send it back in the two-way shipping carton, and you will receive a refund in full plus extra cash to reimburse you for return postage. Mail coupon with $5.95 to your bookseller or Arlington House, Publishers, 81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, N. Y. 10801.

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Gentlemen: Please send, postpaid, Clarence Carson's *The War On The Poor*. My payment of $5.95 is enclosed. If not pleased, I may return book within 30 days for full refund plus extra cash to cover my return postage.

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Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____ *Zip* _____

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